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MAJAPAHIT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY*

Introduction

If the name Majapahit evokes a picture of a powerful empire politically and culturally dominating the whole of the Indonesian Archipelago, it is invariably the image of Majapahit as it flourished in the fourteenth century that presents itself to the mind, Majapahit as it was in the time of its great king Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) and his still greater minister Gajah Mada (d. 1364), in the time of the famous poets Prapañca and Tantular, and of the sculptors of such reliefs as have been preserved on the Surawana, Tigawangi and Kědaton temples.

This golden age of Majapahit, however, was followed by a much longer period which, in contrast with the former, has been described as an age of decline and disintegration. The final chapter of Krom's still unsurpassed Hindu-Javanese History (1931:426-467) bears the ominous title "Decline and Fall of the Hindu-Javanese Power", and is pervaded by the idea that Java's history of the fifteenth century was characterized by the unmistakably progressive decline of the previously unrivalled power of Majapahit.

* The research on the subject of the present article was begun in 1969, and progressed slowly and intermittently in the few spare hours available for it in the years after that. Preliminary reports on the principal conclusions reached at the time were presented under the same title, in the form of a paper read for the Sixth International Conference on Asian History, held in Yogyakarta, from August 26 to 30, in 1974, and as a lecture at the Huishoudelijk Congres of the Oosters Genootschap in Nederland in Leiden on September 17 in 1976. Any statements in the latter which are at variance with those contained in the present article should be considered as being superseded by these.

Editorial Note: As contributors may remember, it is the Editorial Board's policy, although not explicitly stated, to give preference as a rule to articles not exceeding about 30 pages in print. However, as the present article is too short for a separate publication — e.g., in the *Verhandelingen* series — and could not conveniently be split up for publication in two successive issues of the *Bijdragen*, the editors have decided by way of rare exception to place it in its entirety in the current issue in view of its importance.

Some of the external factors which contributed to the reduction of Java's power and prestige were, as Krom points out, the rise of Malaka as the new, Muslim emporium in the western part of the Archipelago, and the concurrent penetration of Islam as far as the coasts of Java, which induced the commercial towns along the north coast to make themselves increasingly independent of the old inland centre. A third external factor was the continuing expansion of the Chinese empire, which in the first decades of the fifteenth century made its presence felt more tangibly than ever through the famous voyages of Admiral Cheng Ho, and interfered in the political affairs of the Archipelago more actively than before. As a consequence such small principalities as Palembang, Brunei and the Sulu Islands renounced their allegiance to Java, their former master (Krom 1931: 427, 432-439).

In Krom's view, however, these external factors were not the primary and most fundamental causes of Majapahit's decline. According to him, there were important internal developments which led to a weakening of the central authority and eventually caused the empire to fall apart. Already at the beginning of the 15th century the civil war of 1405 to 1406 between the western part of the state under King Wikramawardhana (1389-1429) and the eastern part under his cousin Bhre Wirabhūmi "was the beginning of the end for the island empire of Majapahit". Admittedly this war ended with the defeat and ruin of the eastern centre, so that the unity of the Javanese kingdom was restored, but this was at the expense of its internal strength (Krom 1931: 427, 430-432). Krom considered the empire's increasing weakness to be further attested by the great famine of 1426; by a certain lack of spirit and vigour which he believed he could observe in the few works of art which have been preserved from that time; and by the prolonged and increasingly frequent dissensions among members of the royal family (1931: 444-446). For instance, when in 1437 an otherwise completely unknown Bhre Daha became *ratu*, in his view this possibly constituted an open act of repudiation of the central authority, and as such again marked "the beginning of the end". According to Krom's hypothesis the discord came to a head some forty years later, when rival princes of Daha captured the old capital of Majapahit and founded a new dynasty, which Krom called the Girindrawardhana dynasty, although no more than one king of this name is known (1931: 446, 450).

It was these internal rivalries and dissensions, culminating in civil war, which in Krom's view led to Majapahit's gradual disintegration and made its final decline and fall inevitable.

This view of what determined developments in Majapahit in the course of the 15th century has remained the accepted one ever since the publication of Krom's *Hindu-Javanese History*. Schrieke, in his book which was posthumously published under the title *Ruler and Realm in Early Java* in 1957, characterized the course of events after the end of the civil war in 1406 in one sentence, viz. "What followed was one continuous process of disintegration" (1957:65). Coedès, in the personally authorized English version of his standard work on early Southeast Asia which appeared in 1968, continues in the same vein where he summarizes the last century of the existence of Majapahit with the words "Vikramavardhana's reign marks the beginning of the decline of Majapahit, a decline that accelerated greatly during the reigns of his successors" (1968: 241). A theory of complete disintegration was alluded to by Stutterheim in 1938, when he referred to "the later Hindu-Javanese kingdoms into which Majapahit had split up" (1938b: 29), and was formulated in 1969, when Teeuw and Robson stated in the introduction to the joint edition of Tanakung's *Śiwarātrikalpa kakawin* that in the time of King Kṛtawijaya (1447-1451) "East Java was not a unitary kingdom at all, but an assemblage of miniature kingdoms under the hegemony of the strongest among them" (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 15). Similarly Slametmuljana, when discussing the period from 1450 onward in his recent book about Majapahit, speaks of a succession of wars, rulers of different houses coming to power, and unrest and disorder dominating the country and lasting until the end of the century (Slametmuljana 1976: 186).

Although these theories rightly try to explain the unquestionable decline of Majapahit in the 15th century, it should be realized that the Javanese sources on which they are based are extremely defective. Krom already complained about their inadequacy. It would even seem as if he is of the opinion that the lack of data from Javanese sources of this period itself is evidence of a Javanese cultural decline, where he points out (1931: 447, 448) that the *Pararaton*, the Javanese book of kings, becomes increasingly incoherent and obscure towards the end — its final note is dated 1481 —, containing information here which sometimes proves painfully inadequate.

The available written sources for the history of Majapahit in the 15th century are, in fact, extremely scanty. Apart from a few contemporary copperplate and stone inscriptions, they comprise only the three final pages of the *Pararaton*, which, aside from providing a valuable basic chronology, contain not much more than a number of seemingly

disconnected scraps of information almost totally lacking in background material. As a result, much of what ought to have been basic facts can be established only through deduction and reconstruction, and all the available material must be reconsidered as soon as new data come to light.

New information of this kind is provided by the Waringin Pitu copperplate inscription. This Old Javanese charter, issued in 1447, was discovered in 1937, and hence was unknown to Krom when he was writing his *Hindu-Javanese History*. It played no part in Krom's later writings either, and was used only partially by other authors because of the fact that the greater part of the text for a long time remained unpublished. The discovery was immediately announced in the 1938 year-book of the Batavia Society by Stutterheim. He was unable, however, to publish the entire text of the inscription, covering 14 copperplates, here, and he restricted himself for the time being to stating its date of issue (which is 15 Mārgaśīra, Śaka 1369, or 22 November 1447)¹ and the full names and titles of King Kṛtawijaya and the fourteen princes and princesses who issued the charter. The complete text was not published until 1962, when an edition along with an Indonesian translation by Moh. Yamin on the basis of a transliteration by De Casparis appeared on the occasion of the Second National Science Congress in Yogyakarta.²

In the meantime, however, the incomplete data from Stutterheim's announcement were drawn on by Schrieke in his posthumous book of 1957, and by Berg in his book of 1962, the Dutch title of which means "The Kingdom of the Fivefold Buddha". Each attempted a determination of the kinship relationships between the fifteen princes and princesses of the charter (Schrieke 1957: 25-65; Berg 1962: 73 ff.), but many of their conclusions on the basis of these incomplete data have proved untenable on comparison with the complete text as published by Yamin.

Schrieke cautiously made the reservation that the Sanskrit epithets, which occurred in the at that time still unpublished part of the inscription, might contain information which would compel him to revise his opinion. Although it is clear from Yamin's edition that in general these epithets contribute little to an answer to the question of who these fifteen persons were, in one case Schrieke's reservation has proved justified. As regards the Princess of Daha, some of the epithets applied to her provide an unequivocal answer to this question, an answer which

does not agree with that proposed by Schrieke and Berg, however. As a result, other elements of their theories also lose their basis.

Below I shall examine this and other implications of the study of the complete text of the Waringin Pitu charter. For this purpose I shall first give the following list of the fifteen royal personages mentioned in the inscription as the persons who issued the charter:

1. m. *Śrī Bhāṭṭāra Prabhu*, Wijayaparākramawardhana, *dyah* Kṛtawijaya
- +2. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Daha, Jayawardhanī, *dyah* Jayeśwarī
3. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Jagaraga, Wijayendudewī, *dyah* Wijayaduhitā
4. m. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Kahuripan, Rājasawardhana, *dyah* Wijayakumāra
- +5. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Tañjungpura, Manggalawardhanī, *dyah* Suraghārīṇī
6. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Pajang,, *dyah* Sureśwarī³
7. f. *Bhāṭṭāreng* Kēmbang Jēnar, Rājānandaneśwarī, *dyah* Sudharminī
8. m. *Bhāṭṭāreng* Wēngkēr, Girīśawardhana, *dyah* Sūryawikrama
- +9. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Kabalan, Mahāmahiṣī, *dyah* Sāwitri
10. m. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Tumapēl, Singhawikramawardhana, *dyah* Suraprabhāwa
- +11. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Singhapura, Rājasawardhanadewī, *dyah* Śrīpurā
12. m. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Matahun, Wijayaparākrama, *dyah* Samarawijaya
- +13. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Wirabhūmi, Rājasawardhanendudewī, *dyah* Pureśwarī
14. m. *Bhāṭṭāreng* Kēling, Girīndrawardhana, *dyah* Wijayakaraṇa
- +15. f. *Bhāṭṭāra ring* Kalinggapura, Kamalawarnadewī, *dyah* Sudāyitā

m. = male f. = female + = introduced by *sahacarita mwan* (see p. 219 below)
See also the genealogical table at the end of this article.

Kṛtawijaya and the Princess of Daha

First place among the fifteen royal personages who together issued the Waringin Pitu charter is occupied, as might have been expected, by the ruling king of Majapahit himself. He is plainly identified as the sovereign by the lofty titles accorded to him in the charter, viz.

(a 4) *pāduka śrī mahārāja, śrī sakala-yawa-rājādhirāja paramēśwara śrī bhāṭṭāra prabhu,*

i.e., His Majesty the Maharaja, the King of kings of the whole of Java and Supreme Lord, the august Sovereign.

His exalted status is further underlined by a large number of epithets in Sanskrit, but they contain no indication as to his identity. Even without such additional clues, however, it has not been difficult to recognize in him one of the kings whose identity is known from information in the Pararaton. His name, Kṛtawijaya, and the date of the charter are sufficient for us to be able to identify him as the King Kērtawijaya who according to the Pararaton reigned from 1447 to 1451, and who was the youngest son of King Wikramawardhana (1389-1429),

and the successor of his sister, Queen Suhitā (1429-1447) (cf. Krom 1931: 447; Hall 1968: 93).

This confirmation of data in the Pararaton by a contemporary charter is important for our evaluation of the Pararaton as a historical source. It is equally important to note the incompleteness of the Pararaton data as far as the names of the king are concerned, on the other hand. The Waringin Pitu charter is the first known text to inform us that King Kērtawijaya's most official name, his 'royal consecration' name, was Wijayaparākramawardhana.

Dyah Jayeśwarī, the Princess of Daha, who is mentioned second in the list of the charter, was supposed by both Schrieke (1957: 55) and Berg (1962: 81) to be a daughter of the king. This supposition is not borne out by her epithets, however. From Yamin's edition (1962: 6) it appears that in the seventh of the twelve lines of high-flown Sanskrit verse (in Vasantatilaka metre) which are included in the charter in her praise she is unequivocally indicated as the king's wife. Lines 5 to 8 of this eulogy, as quoted below, give an interesting sidelight on her function as queen in relation to her consort, the king, and to their joint subjects:

(b B 2-3) Pṛthvīdarendra-duhituḥ pratimāpratiṣṭhā
 Lokeśa-keśava-maheśvara-sṛṣṭa-dehā
 Yaveśvarasya nṛpateḥ paraṅgrahāya
 sarvva-pramoda-jana-vṛddhi-vivarddhanāya.

i.e., She who is the living image of the daughter of the Lord of the mountains (*i.e.*, Umā),
 and whose body was created by Lokeshā, Keshava and Maheshvara (*i.e.*, Brahmā, Vishnu, and Shiva),
 to be embraced by the King, the Lord of Java,
 to increase the prosperity of mankind to everyone's delight.

The religious and magic function of a royal marriage, which was conceived of as a genuine source of prosperity for the people, clearly emerges from these verses, which leave no doubt that Jayeśwarī, Princess of Daha, was King Kṛtawijaya's wife, and not his daughter.

This fact, though of little significance in itself, is of some special importance in that it has certain direct or indirect consequences for the interpretation of other data from the Waringin Pitu charter, for our understanding of a number of relevant Pararaton passages, and for the evaluation of the hypotheses put forward by Schrieke and Berg.

An example of the latter is the fact that Jayeśwarī, being the king's consort, cannot have been the wife of the prince who is mentioned as fourth in the charter, namely, Rājasawardhana, as Schrieke supposed (1957: 55). As regards Berg's theory, there is not only the fact that his identification of Jayeśwarī as the king's daughter has proved erroneous, but, more fundamentally, the explanatory principle on which he has based this incorrect identification — a supposed structural resemblance between the list of royal persons in the Waringin Pitu charter of 1447 and a similar list in the Nāgarakṛtāgama of 1365 (Berg 1962:73 ff.)⁴ — has turned out to be unsound at the same time. As a consequence, the other identifications suggested by Berg, as far as they are based on the same principle, are left without any foundation as well.

As for the Pararaton passages in question, it should be observed firstly that in Jayeśwarī's case, as in that of King Kṛtawijaya, there is agreement between them and the Waringin Pitu charter in that the Pararaton text likewise contains the information that Kṛtawijaya was married to a Princess of Daha. This agreement should be especially emphasized since it contradicts another hypothesis of Berg's, in which he suggests (1962: 70) that it was not this Princess of Daha who was Kṛtawijaya's wife, but Suhitā, who according to the Pararaton was Kṛtawijaya's sister. This alteration of Pararaton information as proposed by Berg is not supported by the Waringin Pitu charter.

In the Pararaton passage concerned (Par. 30: 3-8), first three children of Hyang Wiśesa, that is, King Wikramawardhana, are mentioned, the third of whom is:

putra pamungsu jalu Bhre Tumapël, śri Kērtawijaya
his youngest son, Prince of Tumapël, Kṛtawijaya.

Following this, three children of Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas I are mentioned, the third of whom is:

Bhre Daha, kambil denira Bhre Tumapël, sama pamungsu
the Princess of Daha, married by the Prince of Tumapël, both
of them being youngest children.

These two statements together imply that according to the Pararaton itself Kērtawijaya⁵ was the Prince of Tumapël who was married to the Princess of Daha. Since, as was said above, the Kērtawijaya of the Pararaton is the same person as King Kṛtawijaya of the Waringin Pitu charter, it is plausible that his wife is also the same Princess of Daha in both cases, or in other words, that Jayawardhanī *dyah* Jayeśwarī of

the Waringin Pitu charter was Bhre Daha, the youngest child of Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas I, of the Pararaton.

As a result, this Princess of Daha cannot possibly have died between 1413 and 1416, as has hitherto been assumed. This assumption had never lost its hypothetical character, owing to the incompleteness of the data in this part of the Pararaton. Since most persons in the Pararaton are indicated not by their proper name but only by their title, it is frequently uncertain who is who, especially where different princes successively held the same title. The prefix *bhre*, moreover, which the Pararaton uses most often in such titles, does indicate the noble status but not the sex of the person concerned. For these reasons, Brandes has based his identifications of such uncertain cases in the Pararaton on the working hypothesis that each time a death is recorded it concerns a person who is mentioned earlier in the text and who is the next one bearing the title in question after the one whose death is previously recorded (Brandes 1920: 168-175). Since, in the present case, the previous Bhre Daha mentioned in the Pararaton is King Hayam Wuruk's aunt Rājadewī, who died between 1371 and 1376 (Par. 29 : 31), Brandes assumed that the Bhre Daha who according to Par. 31: 21 died between 1413 and 1416 was Kṛtawijaya's wife, although these two Bhre Daha differed as much as three generations. This assumption was subsequently maintained in default of other data, though incorrectly so as now appears. Kṛtawijaya's wife was alive, and had become the King of Majapahit's consort, more than thirty years after the above date.⁶

This implies in the first place that her death should instead be placed in the next year in which according to the Pararaton a Bhre Daha died, that is, 1464 (Par. 32: 18). Secondly, any mention of a Bhre Daha between the dates 1416 and 1464 must hence also refer to Kṛtawijaya's wife.

There is only one Pararaton sentence to which this, in fact, applies, namely the one recording that "Bhre Daha became *ratu* in 1437" (Par. 31: 32).

Much has been written about this extremely brief piece of information, and a number of divergent explanations have been given. Brandes assumed that this Bhre Daha was a Princess of Daha who acceded to the throne of Majapahit in 1437, and was therefore to be identified with the unnamed queen who according to the Pararaton died in 1447 (Par. 31: 35). Krom, however, demonstrated that the latter was, in fact, Queen Suhitā, who succeeded her father Wikramawardhana on his death in 1429, and ruled until 1447 (Krom 1916a: 15-22; 1931: 429-430). Consequently, there was no room for another king or queen

in this period. Moreover, as Krom pointed out, in this part of the Pararaton the term *prabhu*, and not *ratu*, is used with reference to the sovereign. In default of further data, Krom put forward the theory that this Bhre Daha was a man who, either by peaceful means or by force, secured himself a higher title and office in 1437, and whose sons, whether or not he himself ever challenged the central authority, succeeded in conquering the capital forty years later.

Although Krom was cautious enough to consider the independent position of this Prince of Daha as only one of a number of possibilities, this reserve was dropped by later authors. Schrieke and Berg (1962: 231) used the term *usurper*, and Hall (1968: 93) stated for a fact that "a rebellion occurred under a leader called Bhre Daha". Slametmuljana (1976: 192-193) completes the imaginary picture by taking it for granted that Bhre Daha, whom he supposes to be a son of Bhre Wīrabhūmi, rebelled to avenge his father's death, usurped the power, and became king for less than one year in 1437, Suhitā being restored to her position as queen in the same year. These unfounded fantasies need not be explicitly refuted. The way to a better solution had already been shown earlier.

Schrieke identified both the Bhre Daha of 1437 and the one of 1464 with the Princess of Daha who is mentioned in the Waringin Pitu charter of 1447, though not with Kṛtawijaya's wife, and drew the obvious conclusion that this royal princess was unlikely to have been a usurper (1957: 48).

Berg, on the other hand, ignored the Waringin Pitu charter here, and identified the Bhre Daha of 1437 with the one who is referred to as Kṛtawijaya's wife in the Pararaton (1962: 71), though he believed the latter to have actually been Queen Suhitā's younger sister, who shared the royal authority with Suhitā, just as a century previous Queen Tribhuvanottunggadewī had a sister Bhre Daha, who, again according to Berg, shared the royal power with her.

Although this latter part of Berg's theory is unacceptable, as it involves arbitrary changes of the Pararaton text, these two identifications of Berg and Schrieke combined are in agreement with our conclusion that the Bhre Daha who was Kṛtawijaya's wife, the Bhre Daha of 1437 and the Princess of Daha of 1447 were all of them one and the same person.

Since Kṛtawijaya, who, as her only surviving brother, succeeded his childless sister Suhitā in 1447, was heir to the throne during his sister's reign, clearly his wife cannot have been a usurper in 1437. Krom's

supposition to this effect should definitely be rejected. As far as this princess is concerned, there was no sign yet of the approaching end of the Javanese empire.

But there is likewise no reason to assume that she became queen earlier than her husband became king in 1447. Even after this year she was no more than the king's consort, although she was in that capacity the most prominent of the royal princes and princesses. If she attained to this second most important position in the state in 1447 because her husband became king in that year, it is unlikely that she was a kind of co-queen prior to that year, in Queen Suhitā's reign, as Berg supposed. For in that case she would have been higher in rank than her husband before he became king. It is most likely, therefore, that the term *ratu* in this time indicated neither the highest rank nor a special second highest one, but rather that of a Bhre or Bhāṭṭāra, i.e., prince or princess of one of the parts of the realm.

Thus it becomes clear that the Pararaton note of 1437 says no more than that in that year the Princess of Daha became ... princess of Daha, and should be interpreted accordingly. In the Pararaton edition the sentence reads:

Bhre Daha duk añjĕnĕng ratu i śaka manawa-pancagni-wulan, 1359
the Princess of Daha became princess in Śaka 1359.

No other interpretation is possible if the other variant reading, as found in five Pararaton manuscripts, is used, viz.

Bhre Daha duk jĕnĕng ring Daha i śaka manawa-pancagni-wulan,
1359
the Princess of Daha became Princess of Daha in Śaka 1359.

Our conclusion must be that the Pararaton simply notes the year in which Jayeśwarī, Princess of Daha, attained this rank.

One may ask what the special importance of this fact was for it to be recorded at all. This question cannot be satisfactorily answered unless one takes a brilliant discovery by Berg into account. He has shown that the date Śaka 1359, or A.D. 1437, which is mentioned in this note, and has thus far been accepted at face value, is in fact, incorrect. He pointed out on more than one occasion (Berg 1962: 71, 231; 1969: 672) that the Javanese chronogram, or date-in-words, in this case is different from the date-in-figures which follows it. The first word, which in such chronograms represents the units, namely *manawa*, in the date-in-figures has been rendered as 9 (presumably because *nawa* is a word for 'nine').

This is not correct, however, because the meaning of *manawa*, a Sanskrit loanword, is 'human being', and the numerical value of words with this meaning is 1 in Javanese chronograms. The date in question was, therefore, eight years earlier, namely Śaka 1351, or A.D. 1429. The argument is irrefutable, because the syllable *ma-* would otherwise remain unexplained and in view of this simple and appropriate explanation it can hardly have dropped into the text by chance.⁷

If it is accepted, therefore, that Jayeśwarī became Princess of Daha in 1429, one is struck by the remarkable fact that this is the same year in which her sister-in-law Suhitā became queen after the death of the latter's father. It is quite possible that this simultaneity was the result of a causal connection between the two events. If Suhitā herself was Princess of Daha before becoming queen in 1429, then this title would have fallen vacant as soon as she acceded to the throne. In that case Jayeśwarī, her sister-in-law, whose husband was the new heir to the throne, would have been her obvious successor as Bhre Daha in that year.

We have no certainty that Suhitā once was Bhre Daha, since the Pararaton only refers to her as *prabhu strī*, 'queen'. But this title only relates to her position after 1429, while before that year, when she was heiress to the throne, she will undoubtedly also have had a title. Her husband was Prince of Kahuripan, and her brother Prince of Tumapël, so that it is likely that she herself possessed the Daha title, the third of the three most important titles then in existence. Moreover, this supposition would fill in the gap between c. 1415 and 1429, in which no one else is known as Bhre Daha.

Be that as it may, it seems certain that Suhitā, on becoming queen, laid down whatever title she had borne up till then. This seems to have been the usual procedure on an accession to the throne, as is clearly demonstrated by the Waringin Pitu charter. Kṛtawijaya, who according to the Pararaton was Prince of Tumapël, did not use this or any similar title in 1447, when he was *prabhu*: in the Waringin Pitu charter someone else, namely Suraprabhāwa, the 10th person in the list, is mentioned as Prince of Tumapël. It may safely be assumed that Suraprabhāwa had acquired this title only very recently, that is, after his predecessor of Tumapël became king in that same year. A similar thing happened almost a century previously. Hayam Wuruk's title as Prince of Kahuripan, which he bore during his minority, was taken over by his mother, who until then had been regent, when he became king in his 16th year in 1350, as we learn from the Nāgarakṛtāgama (Nāg. 2-2).

If it is accepted that Suhitā was Jayeśwarī's predecessor as Princess

of Daha, this again implies that the latter acquired this position in an entirely regular way.⁸

If it is assumed that Jayeśwarī also was the Bhre Daha who according to the Pararaton (32:18) died 35 years later in 1464, it should be emphasized that she must have reached quite an advanced age. In 1464 she must have been at least 64 years of age, though possibly a good many years older, since, according to the charter of Bungur of 1367, her parents were already married in that year (Krom 1931: 424),⁹ and according to the Pararaton (30: 37-31:1) both died in 1400. In view of this advanced age it is unlikely that her death should have been antedated ten years, and actually occurred in 1474, as Krom assumed (1931: 448, 450).

On the other hand, this advanced age also makes it clear that Jayeśwarī, although she was never sovereign herself, and was only the king's consort for five years (1447-1451), must for many years have occupied an important position at court as Princess of Daha, prior to 1447 as consort of the heir to the throne, and after 1451 as queen-dowager (see also p. 236 below). Thus the fact that both the date of her accession to the title and that of her death have been recorded in the Pararaton may be attributable to her exceptionally long term as Princess of Daha and her prominent position as grand old lady at court.

The other princesses of the Waringin Pitu charter

The fact that Jayeśwarī, Princess of Daha, according to the Waringin Pitu charter was King Kṛtawijaya's consort enables us next to draw some conclusions concerning the position of a number of the other princesses listed in the first part of this charter.

As Schrieke rightly remarked (1957: 54), the fourteen royal persons mentioned after the king are each introduced in the text by one of two different expressions, viz. either by *sahacarita mwan*, lit. 'going along with', or by *iniring denya*, lit. 'followed by'. These two expressions are almost synonymous, and it is not immediately clear what the specific significance, if any, of this use of the two different expressions may have been. Schrieke supposed that the fifteen royal persons of the charter were classified in seven hierarchically ordered groups, and that, in the text of the inscription, these groups are separated off from each other by the former of these two expressions. Berg (1962: 73) accepted this theory of Schrieke's unquestioningly, and both have used it in their attempts at determining the family relationships between the fifteen princes and princesses.

It now appears, however, that this supposition has produced incorrect results. For it implies that King Kṛtawijaya and the Princess of Daha, Nos. 1 and 2 of the list, belong to two different groups, since the expression used to introduce the Princess of Daha happens to be *sahacarita mwan*. This is clearly contradicted by the fact that King Kṛtawijaya and the Princess of Daha were husband and wife, and are hence more likely to have been indicated as belonging together than as belonging to two different categories.

Consequently the expression *sahacarita mwan*, if it has any special significance here, was most likely used as an indication that the persons concerned belonged together also in the other cases in which it is found in the text.

Clearly the results thus arrived at are the exact opposite of Schrieke's — persons he placed in separate groups are now classed together, and vice versa. So instead of Schrieke's seven groups, comprising Nos. 1, 2 + 3 + 4, 5 + 6 + 7 + 8, 9 + 10, 11 + 12, 13 + 14, and 15 of the list respectively, there now appear to be six pairs, each connected by the expression *sahacarita mwan* and comprising Nos. 1 + 2, 4 + 5, 8 + 9, 10 + 11, 12 + 13, and 14 + 15, as well as three unconnected individuals, viz. 3, 6, and 7.

It is worthy of note that the six groups emerging in this way each comprise only two persons, and that in each case these two persons are a man and a woman. Since the first of these pairs (the king and queen) has proved to have been a married couple, this together with the other two facts would seem to suggest that the other five pairs were also married couples.

This supposition is corroborated for three of these pairs in that the three princesses concerned are clearly indicated as married women in the inscription. One of the Sanskrit epithets applied to the Princess of Tanjungpura (No. 5) designates her (in Upendravajra metre) as *vaśī-kṛta-svāmi-dayātiriktā*, 'she whose husband is overwhelmed by her abundance of love' (Yamin 1962: 7; c-A-6). The Princess of Kabalan (No. 9) is described (in Varisastha metre) as *sva-svāmi-saṁsevana-kāryya-tatparā*, 'devoted to the service of her husband' (Yamin 1962: 8; d-A-4), and *nītānta-bhartr-priya-karma-kārttikā*, 'constantly preoccupied with the utmost devotion to her husband' (Yamin 1962: 8; d-A-5). The Princess of Singhapura (No. 11), finally, is praised (in Upendravajra metre) as *pati-priyārambhana-karma-śīlā*, 'she whose virtue consists in acts of devotion and support to her husband' (Yamin 1962: 8; d-B-5). These epithets leave no doubt that the princesses concerned

were married. Their husbands are not positively identified in the text, but they were most likely the princes immediately preceding each in the list, that is, the other half of the relevant pair, namely the princes of Kahuripan (No. 4), Wēngkēr (No. 8), and Tumapēl (No. 12) respectively.

Comparable evidence for the princesses of Wīrabhūmi (No. 13) and Kalinggapura (No. 15) is lacking. In the Sanskrit epithets applied to them (Yamin 1962: 9) their charms and physical beauty are praised, but there are no indications as to whether or not they were married. In view of the other cases, however, the term *sahacarita mwan*g makes it likely that they, too, were married, each to the prince preceding her in the list.

The three remaining princesses, Nos. 3, 6, and 7, constitute a case apart, since they are not members of any of the pairs in the list, and are not introduced by *sahacarita mwan*g, but by *iniring denyā*. Notwithstanding, in the epithets for two of them unambiguous reference is made to a husband. The Princess of Jagaraga (No. 3), for instance, is praised (in Indravajra metre) as *svāmi-bratatvonnata-puṇya-gātrī*, 'she whose pure arms are raised in devotion to her husband' (Yamin 1962: 6; b-B-6), and the Princess of Kēmbang-Jēnar (No. 7) (in Vamśastha metre) as *pati-vratatva-dhva-niyukta-saṃskṛtā*, 'she who perseveres on and is devoted to the path of faithfulness to her husband' (Yamin 1962: 7; c-B-5).

Since all the princes in the list are already mentioned as being married to other princesses, it can only be concluded that the two princesses in question were the second wives of the King and of the Prince of Kahuripan (No. 4) respectively, or were married to a man not mentioned in the charter, or widowed.

There is, however, one epithet used for the Princess of Jagaraga which may possibly be interpreted as indicating that her husband had, in fact, already died, namely that in which she is called *patyāvalupta-smaraṇa-prasannā*, 'serene in uninterrupted meditation on her husband' (c-A-1). Since *smaraṇa* means especially 'meditation on a deity', *pati...smaraṇa* 'meditation on her husband', might imply that the husband had died and been deified.¹⁰

The same concept of *smaraṇa* or *smṛti*, 'meditation on a deity', is found in an epithet used for the Princess of Kēmbang-Jēnar, in which she is referred to as *Āditeya-deva-smṛti-sampravartitā*, 'constantly engaged in meditation on the god Āditeya' (c-B-5/6). In view of the above-mentioned epithet referring to her husband, the words 'the god

Āditeya' (i.e., 'son of Aditi', the sun-god) may be interpreted as implying her deified husband, so that 'the path of faithfulness to her husband' consisted, in fact, in worshipping her deceased husband as a god.

The same may apply to the third princess under consideration, the Princess of Pajang (No. 6), since in an epithet used for her (in Upen-dravajra metre), namely *viśiṣṭa-deva-smaraṇa-prasaktā*, 'wholly devoted to meditation on her special god' (Yamin 1962: 7; c-B-3/4), the words *viśiṣṭa deva*, 'special god', may well refer likewise to her deceased and deified husband.

This way it is possible that the special position occupied by these three princesses amongst the other royal personages of the list is explained by their being widows of unnamed royal princes.

The special position of these three princesses also becomes apparent from a consideration of the number of epithets devoted to each of the fifteen royal persons. These Sanskrit epithets are all of them in verse, and are arranged in stanzas of four lines each. Their metre as well as their number is different for various persons in the list, however. Apparently the number of epithets applied to a person is an indication of his rank. The higher his position, the greater is the number of his epithets, although only the highest personages in the list differ individually as to the number of stanzas devoted to them. The king is clearly the highest in rank — he has four stanzas devoted to him. The queen is second highest with three stanzas.¹¹ All the other princes and princesses are given two stanzas, except for the three princesses under consideration, who have only one. In this respect the latter occupy the lowest position, lower even than that of their colleagues following them in the list. Apparently a distinction is made between two different kinds of ranking order. It may be supposed, for instance, that these three princesses on the one hand, as belonging to the older generation, had to be assigned a place among the other members of their generation in the upper part of the list, but on the other, as second wives or widows, had to be ranked lower than all the others.

It is impossible to say more than this on the basis of the inscription alone. There are, however, a number of data in the Pararaton which may profitably be compared with those from the inscription and together with them provide more certainty.

In the long genealogical Pararaton passage beginning with Kṛta-wijaya's generation, which has been partly quoted above (Par. 30: 3-18) and which relates to roughly the same period as the Waringin Pitu charter, the Princesses of Jagaraga, Tanjungpura, Pajang and Kēmbang-

Jĕnar occur in this same order. It may therefore be assumed that they are the same princesses, whose personal names we learn for the first time from the charter.

In this Pararaton passage, the three first-mentioned princesses are referred to as the daughters of Bhre Tumapĕl and his (unnamed) secondary wife. It is uncertain which of the two princes Bhre Tumapĕl occurring in the passage was their father. Teeuw/Robson (1969: 15) believed Kṛtawijaya was. Schrieke (1957: 44) thought the latter's elder brother was. Neither state their arguments, however, while the Pararaton itself contains no indication at all as to which of the two is meant here. Although this is quite an important point, there is no objection to leaving it undecided until later on in this paper (see p. 236).

According to the Pararaton, *Bhre Jaguaraga* was married to Bhra Hyang Parameśwara Ratnapangkaja, the prince consort of Queen Suhitā. Since this Ratnapangkaja died in 1446 (Par. 31: 35-36), he could not have occurred in the Waringin Pitu charter, which was issued the next year. Both his marriages were childless (Par. 30: 6, 14). This means that after 1446 Bhre Jaguaraga was a childless widow. It is unlikely that she had remarried and become the new King Kṛtawijaya's second wife. This is excluded if he was her father, and improbable if he was her uncle. Therefore she was most likely a widow in the Waringin Pitu charter. This would provide a good explanation for her ambiguous position in this charter, ranking third in the list as the eldest daughter or niece of the king and the only surviving widow of the late prince consort on the one hand, but still no higher than a childless widow on the other.

If such was Bhre Jaguaraga's position, it implies that the genealogical passage of Par. 30: 10 ff. is describing the situation of the royal family as it was in a period slightly earlier than the charter of 1447.

The same remark can be made with respect to Bhre Jaguaraga's two younger sisters, Bhre Tanjungpura and Bhre Pajang. In Par. 30: 14-16 they are mentioned as being married to their half-brother Bhre Paguhan, and their marriages as being childless. But in the charter of 1447 there is no mention of a Prince of Paguhan. He, too, must have died prior to its being issued.

In the Pararaton, the death of Bhre Paguhan is not clearly dated. What it says is, "Bhre Paguhan, who died in Canggu, is enshrined in Sabyantara". This information is given after that concerning Kṛtawijaya's accession in 1447 (Par. 32: 4). It may be supposed, therefore, that either Bhre Paguhan died before 1447 and was enshrined after

that date, or he died in 1447 after Kṛtawijaya's accession but before the issue of the Waringin Pitu charter. *Bhre Pajang's* death together with her enshrinement in the same Sabyantara is recorded shortly afterwards (Par. 32: 6-7). As Brandes already observed (1920: 192), this is a clear confirmation that she was *Bhre Paguhan's* consort (and, we may add, that she remained a widow after his death).

In the Waringin Pitu charter, therefore, *Bhre Pajang* was in almost the same position as her elder sister *Bhre Jagaraga*: that of a childless widow, although a daughter or niece of the king.

Her other elder sister, *Bhre Tanjungpura*, according to the data of the Pararaton had likewise been in the same situation. She, too, had been a childless widow of *Bhre Paguhan*. But she had afterwards remarried with Rājasawardhana, Prince of Kahuripan, as has been established above (p. 220), though this is not mentioned in the Pararaton. This, it may be assumed, was the reason for her higher status in the Waringin Pitu charter as apparent from the greater number of her epithets. Her second marriage must have been very recent at that time, since her first husband had not died much earlier than 1447. The date of her own death is unknown.

Bhre Kěmbang-Jēnar according to the Pararaton (30: 16) was married to *Bhre Kěling*, who is usually held to be *Bhre Pajang's* younger brother, since he is mentioned directly after her, although nothing is said in the text about this or any other possible relation to preceding persons. The data from the Waringin Pitu charter are in agreement with this assumption inasmuch as this *Bhre Kěling* (who is not mentioned in the charter) died in 1446 or 1447 (Par. 31: 34), and consequently his wife was a widow and her position comparable to that of *Bhre Jagaraga* and *Bhre Pajang* at the time of this charter. Since her descent is not mentioned in the Pararaton, however, she presumably was a relative only by marriage, which means that her position in the charter was determined completely by that of her deceased husband. If he was *Bhre Pajang's* younger brother, his place would be directly after hers, as it is in the Pararaton, while his widow would also come in this place, directly after *Bhre Pajang*, as she does in the charter.

After *Bhre Kěmbang-Jēnar* there follow two other princesses in the genealogical passage of Par. 30, who occur in the same order in the charter. They are the Princesses of Kabalan and Singapura. In both these cases again it is clear that the Pararaton portrays a slightly earlier situation than the charter. In the former, *Bhre Kabalan* is mentioned as the daughter of *Bhre Wěngkēr*, who is the eldest brother of the

earlier mentioned princes and princesses of Paguhan to Kĕling (Par. 30: 17, 12). Hence the Princess of Kabalan was a niece of the princesses preceding her in the charter, where consequently the next generation begins after the Princess of Kĕmbang-Jĕnar. The Prince of Wĕngkĕr occurring in the charter of 1447 cannot have been the Princess of Kabalan's father, since according to the Pararaton (31: 25) the latter had already died about 1427. Instead of her father he was, as has been shown above (p. 220), her husband, who apparently held the same title as his deceased father-in-law. This Bhre Kabalan died about 1450, and was enshrined in the same place, Sumĕngka, as her father (Par. 32: 5-6).

Bhre Singapura, finally, was the daughter of a secondary wife of Bhre Paguhan (Par. 30: 18), and consequently a cousin-german of Bhre Kabalan. The Pararaton mentions the title of Bhre Singapura's husband, viz. Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas,¹² but does not say who he was. The Princess of Singhapura of the Waringin Pitu charter was married to a Prince of Tumapĕl. There is reason to believe that this was the same marriage, since, as was shown above (p. 217), her husband Suraprabhāwa had received the Tumapĕl title only very recently. Before him Kṛtawijaya had been Prince of Tumapĕl until becoming king in 1447. Therefore Suraprabhāwa may have had another title prior to 1447. As will be demonstrated in the next section, his previous title was, in fact, Prince of Paṇḍan-Salas. The date of Bhre Singapura's death is unknown.

This case is yet another indication of the slight difference in time between the Waringin Pitu charter and the genealogical passage of Pararaton 30. Another indication of this is the termination of the said passage at this point. None of the four princes and princesses following the Princess of Singhapura in the Waringin Pitu charter occurs in this or any other Pararaton passage. In default of other data we are therefore compelled to leave them unidentified.

As may be apparent from the above discussion, the agreement between the genealogical Pararaton passage and the Waringin Pitu charter is confined almost exclusively to the *princesses* mentioned in both. As regards the princes, none of those mentioned after Kṛtawijaya in the Pararaton passage occurs in the charter, and vice versa, with the sole exception of the prince who is called Singhawikramawardhana *dyah* Suraprabhāwa, Prince of Tumapĕl, in the charter and Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas in the Pararaton.

This Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas recurs two pages further on in the Pararaton, this time as the prince who became *prabhu* in 1466 (Par. 32: 21). Here

it is the Waringin Pitu charter which is able to clarify certain passages of the Pararaton, in the first place with respect to this prince, and subsequently as regards other princes.

Suraprabhāwa ¹³

For some time before the discovery of the Waringin Pitu charter Prince Singhawikramawardhana *dyah* Suraprabhāwa had already been known from two other copperplate inscriptions, namely the Pamintihan charter issued on 14 May 1473, and published in *OV* 1922: 22-27, in which he is the *prabhu* who issued the charter; and the fragmentary Trawulan III inscription, published in *OV* 1918: 170, which contains no date and in which, as in the Waringin Pitu charter, he occurs as Prince of Tumapël and the husband of the Princess of Singapura.

On the basis of these inscriptions Miss Muusses (1929: 209) concluded that this Suraprabhāwa was identifiable with the Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas who according to Par. 30: 18 was married to Bhre Singapura and according to Par. 32: 21 became *prabhu* in 1466. Why he was called Prince of Tumapël in the inscription, but Prince of Paṇḍan-Salas in the Pararaton remained unexplained, however.

This seeming contradiction nevertheless disappears when it is realized that a change of titles is mentioned in the Pararaton itself. The sentence recording the prince's accession to the throne in 1466 begins with the statement: *Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas aṅjēnēng ing Tumapël*, meaning "Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas became ruler of Tumapël",¹⁴ which seems to imply that this was in the year 1466. But since it is known from the Waringin Pitu charter that he was already ruler of Tumapël in 1447, the above Pararaton clause cannot relate to the year 1466, but must refer to a date even earlier than the Waringin Pitu charter. This further means that only a change of princely titles is being referred to, and not an accession to the throne of Majapahit (because at that time someone else was *prabhu*).

After what has been said earlier about Kṛtawijaya transferring his Tumapël title on becoming *prabhu* in 1447, it is clear that what the above Pararaton clause records, in fact, is Suraprabhāwa's change of title from Paṇḍan-Salas to Tumapël on that same occasion. What we have here are two chronologically separate facts, the one relating to 1447 and the other to 1466, which have been telescoped into a single statement, under the date 1466.

This 19-year interval between the two facts recorded in that statement is indicated in rather an unspecified way by the first word of the

second part of the sentence, namely *anuli*, 'afterwards',¹⁵ which can now, however, be interpreted precisely. This second part runs: *anuli prabhu ring śaka . . . 1388*, meaning: "afterwards (*i.e.*, 19 years after becoming Prince of Tumapël) he became *prabhu* in A.D. 1466". In this clause a real accession to the throne is recorded. At the same time Tumapël became a thing of the past.

For it may be presumed that Suraprabhāwa in his turn laid down the Tumapël title on becoming king in 1466. This explains at the same time why Tumapël is not mentioned in the Pamintihan charter of 1473: at that time Suraprabhāwa was sovereign, and no longer Prince of Tumapël. It is incorrect, therefore, to say, as do Teeuw/Robson (1969: 17, 18), following Krom (1931: 448), that Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas "according to the Pararaton became king in *Tumapël* in 1466" (my italics), and to assume on this basis that after 1466 "the hegemony over East Java appears definitively to have been taken by Tumapël" (Teeuw/Robson 1969: 16).

There are no positive data on the capital of this king. Strictly speaking, therefore, his *kraton* might just as well have been in Tumapël as in any other part of the realm, as is rightly contended by Zoetmulder on p. 65 of the same book in which Teeuw/Robson earlier on express a contrary opinion. Conversely there is no reason to doubt that the residence of this king was in Majapahit, like that of his illustrious predecessors.¹⁶

Rājasawardhana

Now that a piece of data from the Waringin Pitu charter has provided a better understanding of the Pararaton sentence 32: 21 about Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas, this in its turn may help to clarify the information contained in Pararaton sentence 32: 11-12, which tells us in rather a cryptic way that prince Rājasawardhana became sovereign, succeeding his predecessor, Kṛtawijaya, who died in A.D. 1451.

One of the difficulties about this sentence concerning Rājasawardhana is that neither the word *prabhu* nor any other word meaning 'sovereign' occurs in it. Brandes added the word *prabhu* in his translation (1920: 199), while Krom supplied the reason why this addition was necessary (1931: 448). This reason is that a few lines further down the Pararaton states that after Rājasawardhana's death there was no *prabhu* for three years (Par. 32: 14), which of course implies that *before* his death there *was* a *prabhu*, namely Rājasawardhana himself. Schrieke was wrong, therefore, when he repeatedly asserted that Rājasawardhana was not

prabhu (1957: 44, 49, 50). The word *prabhu* should, in fact, be added somewhere in the sentence, but not in the place where Brandes put it. The sentence reads:

Bhre Pamotan añjĕnĕng ing Kĕling, Kahuripan, abhiṣekanira śri Rājasawardhana,

and is translated by Brandes as:

"Bhre Pamotan became king (*prabhu*) in Kĕling, Kahuripan, under the name śri Rājasawardhana",

and by Schrieke as:

"Bhre Pamotan 'came to power' in Kĕling-Kahuripan under the sacral name of Rājasawardhana".

It should be noted, however, that the beginning of this sentence corresponds exactly to the beginning of Par. 32: 21 about Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas becoming ruler of Tumapĕl, which has been discussed in the previous section. It should therefore also be translated in the same way, as:

"Bhre Pamotan became ruler of Kĕling . . ."

Following the example of the Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas sentence still further, this means that here, too, only a change of title, and not the attainment of sovereignty is recorded. Consequently the word *prabhu* should not be added in this part of the sentence, but further on. The next word in the sentence, however, is Kahuripan, and this brings us back to the Waringin Pitu charter.

The identification of the Rājasawardhana whom this charter in 1447 mentions as the first prince after King Kṛtawijaya, with the Rājasawardhana who according to the Pararaton four years later succeeded King Kĕrtawijaya, is sufficiently certain primarily because of the identical royal consecration name, and has been accepted without exception (e.g. Schrieke 1957: 57; Berg 1962: 89). In the charter, however, Rājasawardhana is not called a prince of either Pamotan or Kĕling, but of Kahuripan. It then becomes easy to see a connexion between these two mentions of Kahuripan, and to draw the conclusion that in the Pararaton also it refers to the time when Rājasawardhana was Prince of Kahuripan. In other words, the change of his title from Pamotan to Kĕling took place before 1447, while a second change of titles, from Kĕling to Kahuripan, occurred after the first, though also prior to the issue of the Waringin Pitu charter in 1447.¹⁷ Evidently the word *Ka-*

huripan coming after *Kĕling* in the Pararaton sentence under discussion is a compressed way of saying "he then became ruler of Kahuripan" (*tumuli aṅjĕnĕng ing Kahuripan*, or similar words).

At this stage he was not yet sovereign. The word *prabhu* should then be inserted after the word Kahuripan, and the entire sentence interpreted in the following way (explanatory additions between brackets):

"Bhre Pamotan became ruler of Kĕling, (and afterwards became ruler of) Kahuripan, (and then became *prabhu*;) his consecration name was Rajasawardhana."

This interpretation has the advantage of clarifying the juxtaposition of Kĕling and Kahuripan without any intervening element but a comma, which puzzled Krom (1931: 448), and at the same time of automatically dismissing the idea of the strange twin-region of Kĕling-Kahuripan, which was first proposed by Schrieke (1957: 31) and repeated after him by others (Ras 1968: 182).¹⁸

An extreme economy of words thus caused three chronologically different events to be telescoped into one statement under one and the same date.

The above interpretation of Par. 32: 11-12 only partly agrees with Berg's (1962: 89). He adds the word *prabhu* in the same place, using the phrase *angganteni prabhu* ('succeeding as *p*.') from Par. 32: 1, instead of which one might also borrow the words *anuli prabhu* from Par. 32: 21, or *tumuli prabhu* from Par. 32: 15. Berg's solution for the first part of the sentence, however, is quite different from the one suggested above. It nevertheless does not need to be refuted in detail, since it is based on the assumption that "there is no possibility to integrate the first five words of Par. 32, 11 sq. with the following four into a comprehensible whole". It has been shown in the foregoing that such a possibility does exist. Therefore more drastic measures to clarify the sentence, such as the ones resorted to by Berg, are unnecessary.

As Schrieke remarked (1957: 31), the Pararaton also contains the necessary data to establish who Rājasawardhana's predecessor as Prince of Kahuripan was. This was Bhra Hyang Parameswara Ratnapangkaja, the consort of Queen Suhitā (1429-1447), since he was Bhre Koripan (Par. 30: 5), and there is no reason to doubt that he bore this highly important title until his death in 1446 (Par. 31: 35), shortly before his wife's demise, and also shortly before Rājasawardhana is known to have been Prince of Kahuripan in 1447.

In view of this short interval of about one year, one would be inclined

to assume that Rājasawardhana received his new title of Prince of Kahuripan immediately after the death of Queen Suhitā's consort. However, if the Pararaton is right, this was not the case. As was shown above, Rājasawardhana was Prince of Kĕling before becoming Bhre Kahuripan. But the Pararaton records the death of the previous Bhre Kĕling *after* the demise of Queen Suhitā's consort (Par. 31: 36). This means that, after the title of Kahuripan fell vacant, Rājasawardhana first became Prince of Kĕling! Possibly he did not receive the Kahuripan title under Queen Suhitā, but immediately after her death, under her successor King Kṛtawijaya. If this is true, it would imply that Rājasawardhana was an important man to Kṛtawijaya rather than to Suhitā. This is in agreement, as we shall see, with his family relationship to both the latter.

It is clear furthermore that Girīndrawardhana, whom the Waringin Pitu charter mentions as Prince of Kĕling (No. 14 of the list), whoever he may have been, had likewise received this title only very shortly before that charter was issued. He probably succeeded Rājasawardhana as Prince of Kĕling.

The Prince of Wĕngkĕr

As the preceding discussion shows, there is remarkable correspondence between three of the first four kings mentioned on page 32 of the Pararaton and three of the first four princes listed in the Waringin Pitu charter. After one has succeeded in identifying these three, namely Kṛtawijaya (War. Pitu No. 1; Par. 32: 2), Rājasawardhana (War. Pitu No. 4; Par. 32: 11-12) and the Prince of Tumapĕl Suraprabhāwa (War. Pitu No. 10; Par. 32: 21), the question arises whether the fourth, who in both sources is called Prince of Wĕngkĕr, can also be taken as one and the same person. This identification is uncertain, because the identity of only their title, which was borne by many people before and after them, constitutes insufficient proof. There is, besides, seeming disagreement between their names. These are Bhra Hyang Purwawīṣeṣa according to Par. 32: 15, and Girīśawardhana *dyah* Sūryawikrama according to the charter (No. 8 of the list). Nonetheless, the conclusion drawn by Teeuw/Robson (1969: 16) that they were different persons on account of this difference in name is unwarranted. There is a special reason for considering the possibility that the Pararaton and the charter may each be mentioning the same person under a different name. The charter records names of exclusively two types, namely the so-called 'birth-name' (*garbha-prasūti-nāma*), such as *dyah* Sūryawikrama in

the present case, and the royal consecration name (*rāja-abhiṣeka-nāma*), such as Girīśawardhana. A few of both types are also mentioned in the Pararaton, which, however, sometimes also contains names of another type. These Krom has termed sacral names (1931:448), and presumably had some special religious function. Unlike the two types mentioned above, they have the word *hyang* as one of their constituent parts. A well-known example is the name of the king who succeeded Hayam Wuruk in 1389, whose royal consecration name was Wikramawardhana (Nāg. 6-3-4), but whom the Pararaton calls mainly Bhra Hyang Wiśeṣa.¹⁹ Bhra Hyang Purwawiśeṣa is a very similar name, and apparently belongs to the same category as Hyang Wiśeṣa. So the *hyang* name of the Prince of Wēngkēr who became king in 1456 most likely was not his royal consecration name. As his real *rāja-abhiṣeka-nāma* is not mentioned in the Pararaton, it may well have been Girīśawardhana.

The possibility is not excluded, therefore, that this Girīśawardhana, who according to the charter was Prince of Wēngkēr in 1447, was also the Bhre Wēngkēr who according to the Pararaton became *prabhu* in 1456. There is one additional circumstance which turns this possibility into a probability, namely the fact that the agreement between the two lists is not restricted to the identity between the three persons mentioned, but also extends to the order in which they are listed. It can hardly be mere coincidence that Kṛtawijaya is the first prince, Rājasawardhana the second, and Suraprabhāwa the fourth in both lists: a special relation between these princes, and not the fact that they became king one after the other in this order must be the background of this remarkable agreement, since in 1447 the latter fact still lay concealed in the future. This relation, as we shall see in the next section, was a definite family relationship. If the agreement between the two lists to the extent that the first, second and fourth person they mention are each one and the same person is no coincidence, then it is most likely that the Princes of Wēngkēr who each occupy third place in his respective list are identical, too. It may be concluded, therefore, that Girīśawardhana, Prince of Wēngkēr, most probably was the Bhre Wēngkēr Bhra Hyang Purwawiśeṣa who became *prabhu* in 1456, and died and was enshrined in Puri in 1466 (Par. 32:19).²⁰

This identification implies that this *prabhu* was the husband of the Princess of Kabalan of 1447, who, according to an earlier identification (see p. 224 above), was the daughter of a previous Bhre Wēngkēr, and who died about 1450 (Par. 32:5-6). Her death occurred many years before her husband's, and even before the latter became *prabhu*.

This must be the reason why she was not enshrined in the same place as her husband, as was sometimes the case, but in Suměngka, where her father had been enshrined in 1427 (Par. 31: 25).

The family relationship between the four successive kings Kṛtawijaya, Rājasawardhana, Girīśawardhana and Suraprabhāwa can be established with the help of the copperplate inscription that is usually referred to as Trawulan III.

The Trawulan III charter

The copperplate inscription which was published in 1918 as Trawulan III (OV 1918: 170), because it was found, together with a number of other inscriptions, in the village of Trawulan, near the site of the former *kraton* of Majapahit, is only a fragment. The text begins and ends abruptly, the only surviving plate being the fourth of a series, as is apparent from the figure on its reverse side. Because the other plates have not been preserved, the identity of the king issuing the charter, the date of and reason for its issue, and its proper contents are all unknown. The single surviving plate mentions two princes and two princesses, who apparently had a part in issuing the charter. They are:

1. Mahāmahiṣī *dyah* Sāwitṛī, Princess of Kabalan;
2. Singhawikramawardhana *dyah* Suraprabhāwa, Prince of Tumapěl;
3. Rājasawardhanadewī *dyah* Śrīpurā, Princess of Singhapura;
4. Wijayaparākrama *dyah* Samarawijaya, Prince of Matahun.

The importance of this fragmentary inscription lies in the fact that these same princes and princesses also occur in the Waringin Pitu inscription, where they are mentioned as Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12, with exactly the same names and titles, in exactly the same order, and even in almost exactly the same part of the inscription, namely the fourth plate.

This close conformity in content between the Trawulan III and Waringin Pitu charters is a clear indication that they date from roughly the same time. Krom's conclusion (1931: 448) that the Trawulan III charter was issued some time between 1447 and 1466 — which he reached before the Waringin Pitu charter was discovered — is still valid as indicating the two extreme limits, therefore. These were the years in which Suraprabhāwa was Prince of Tumapěl: after 1466 he was *prabhu*, while prior to 1447 Kṛtawijaya was Prince of Tumapěl.

The correspondence between the two charters also extends to the words which are used to introduce the four persons mentioned in the

Trawulan III inscription. The Princes of Tumapël and Matahun are both introduced by the word *iniring*, 'followed (by)', in Trawulan III as well as in Waringin Pitu. The Princess of Kabalan is introduced by the word *sahacaritra*, which may be considered as a variant of *sahacarita*, 'going along (with)', the word used to introduce her in Waringin Pitu. Only in the case of the Princess of Singhapura is a different word used, namely *bhāryāpati*, 'husband', instead of *sahacarita*, the use of this word permitting us to draw the conclusion that Suraprabhāwa was married to the Princess of Singhapura according to both the Trawulan III and the Waringin Pitu charter.

The agreement between the two charters on this point constitutes a decisive argument against the opinion expressed by Berg concerning the Trawulan III inscription (1962: 238-239). According to Berg, this inscription is not a charter in its own right, but a 'tendentious correction' of the corresponding part of the Waringin Pitu charter, undertaken with the sole purpose of trying to change the position of Suraprabhāwa by giving him another wife, the Princess of Singhapura instead of the Princess of Kabalan. Obviously, since the contents of the two charters do not disagree on this point, as we have shown, there is no justification for assuming that the one is a conscious correction of the other.

The many lexical differences between the two charters, in contrast to their essential agreement in content, provide another reason why Berg's view seems unlikely. These differences are not limited to the few words mentioned by Berg. Almost all the words and sentences in Trawulan III, in fact, excepting personal and geographical names and the few words mentioned above, differ either partially or completely from those in the corresponding parts of Waringin Pitu. Even a relatively unimportant word like that for 'birth name' is *garbha-janma-nāma* in the former and *garbha-prasūti-nāma* in the latter. The most conspicuous examples of such formal differences are provided by the Sanskrit epithets, these differing in vocabulary and number of verses, and partly even on the point of metrics. For example, the epithets applied to Suraprabhāwa in Trawulan III comprise four lines in Indravajra metre, and in the Waringin Pitu four lines in Varṇasātha metre followed by four lines in Upendravajra metre. It is unlikely that anyone making a correction of an existing charter with the sole intention of changing the position of one prince should have taken the additional trouble to construct a large number of entirely new Sanskrit verses.

If the data contained in Trawulan III can be taken seriously, therefore, this must apply also to the words defining the family relationship

between Suraprabhāwa and the then king in it. These words consist of a Sanskrit compound, *tadantikātmaja*, followed by the Old Javanese clause *pamungsu putra sira tkap śrī mahārāja*. The meaning of the Old Javanese clause is obviously: "he is the youngest son of His Majesty". This has been the interpretation of most writers on the subject (Krom 1931: 448; Teeuw/Robson 1969: 15), although the order of the words *pamungsu putra* is unusual; but this may be attributable to the need for special emphasis.

The meaning of the Sanskrit compound, however, is less clear. While *tad-* may be translated with 'his' in this context, and *-ātmaja* means 'son', the central part of the compound has been interpreted in various ways. Krom (1920: 154) opted for the rather doubtful Sanskrit word *antikā*, 'elder sister', which, according to Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English dictionary, s.v., is only to be found in Indian lexicons as occurring in the theatrical language, and perhaps is a corruption of *attikā*, which itself is a similarly doubtful word (*ibidem*). Berg went one step further, assuming a non-existent masculine form *antika*, 'elder brother', and explaining that the compiler of the charter was "not entirely expert in the field of language" (1962: 239). One wonders, however, why this man, if he was able to find an unusual word like *antikā*, was unable to use the obvious word for 'elder brother or sister', *agraja/-ā*. One also wonders why, if he intended 'brother', he should have concealed this intention by using words which do not allow us to decide whether 'brother' or 'sister' is meant. One finally wonders why the Sanskrit compound should convey something different from what is expressed in the Old Javanese clause following it. As is well known, some Old Javanese charters follow the custom of giving an important expression first in Sanskrit, and then, by way of explanation, in Javanese, thus, in fact, saying the same thing twice, but in different languages.²¹ That is what one would also expect in the passage under discussion in Trawulan III. Instead of suspecting the writer of the charter of doubtful competence in order to come to an interpretation that is still unsatisfactory, it seems more plausible to assume incompetence on the part of the copyist of the inscription and conjecture an error of one letter, namely the *i*, substitution of which by an *a* would produce the entirely correct word *tadantakātmaja*, meaning 'his final, last, i.e., youngest son'.²² This conjecture would thus confirm the conclusion reached on the basis of the Old Javanese clause that Suraprabhāwa was the youngest son of the ruling king.

The fact that this king had a youngest son of course implies that he

had at least one other child. We may surmise who this other child was, although this involves going beyond the limits of the surviving Trawulan III fragment.

The complete agreement between the Waringin Pitu and Trawulan III charters as regards the names and titles of the royal persons mentioned in them, as well as with respect to the order in which they occur, makes it likely that this correspondence was not limited to plate 4 of Trawulan III, but extended to at least some of the other plates which have not been preserved. This would apply especially to the part of the inscription immediately preceding plate 4. The beginning of plate 4 contains a number of Sanskrit epithets which, in view of the exclusively masculine forms occurring in them, refer to a male person, whose name must then have preceded the epithets, as in the other cases, and, therefore, must have occurred in the last part of plate 3. Since, following these epithets, the Princess of Kabalan is the first to be mentioned by name on plate 4, and since the person preceding her in the Waringin Pitu charter is the Prince of Wëngkër, Girīśawardhana *dyah* Sūrya-wikrama, it is likely that this same Prince of Wëngkër was also the one preceding her in Trawulan III, and therefore was the person occurring in the last part of plate 3. This is the more probable since the epithets accorded to the Princess of Kabalan in Trawulan III include one which unambiguously indicates her as a married woman, namely *svāmi-hitānu-kūlinī*, 'devoted to the welfare of her consort', and since it has already been concluded that the said Prince of Wëngkër was her husband, he is again most likely to have preceded her in Trawulan III.

The first word of the first line on plate 4 of Trawulan III is *mahārāja*, followed by a full stop (a *pāda*), while the above-mentioned epithets begin only after that. The same word *mahārāja* also occurs as the first word on the reverse side of plate 4, where it is also followed by a full stop, and by Sanskrit epithets after that. In this case, however, *mahārāja* is the last word of the Old Javanese clause identifying Suraprabhāwa as the king's youngest son. By analogy it may be surmised that the last part of plate 3 contained a like sentence stating the family relationship between the prince concerned, i.e., Girīśawardhana, and the Mahārāja. And since Suraprabhāwa, immediately following Girīśawardhana, was His Majesty's youngest son, Girīśawardhana presumably was His Majesty's elder son. Hence Girīśawardhana and Suraprabhāwa were probably elder and younger brother.²³

This conclusion brings us to the question of who was the Mahārāja, the father of both Girīśawardhana and Suraprabhāwa, and the king

who presumably issued the Trawulan III charter. Since it has earlier been concluded that this charter was issued between the years 1447 and 1466, we have on the face of it a choice between three kings: Kṛtawijaya, who ruled from 1447 to 1451, Rājasawardhana, who ruled from 1451 to 1453, and Girīśawardhana, who ruled from 1456 to 1466. The latter can be ruled out, however, as he himself is mentioned in the charter as one of the sons of the ruling king.

Rājasawardhana may presumably, though less definitely, also be dismissed because, when later on in the Pararaton (32: 23) his four children are listed, Suraprabhāwa is not among them, although the latter is the ruling king at that time (see the next section).

It seems most likely, therefore, that the king who was the father of Girīśawardhana and Suraprabhāwa and who issued the Trawulan III charter was King Kṛtawijaya (1447-1451).

This conclusion has certain repercussions for a number of other matters. The first of these is the position of Rājasawardhana. Although there is no direct clue as to his specific family relationship, it may be taken for certain that he, too, was a member of the royal family. His position in the Waringin Pitu charter, where he is the first prince to be mentioned after the king in the list of royal persons, his successive titles of Pamotan, Kēling and Kahuripan, and the fact that he succeeded Kṛtawijaya as king, all this makes it very unlikely that he was not a direct descendant of the royal house of Majapahit, as Schrieke is inclined to believe (1957: 55, 57). For once, any remaining doubts are dispelled by an epithet in the Waringin Pitu charter which unequivocally confirms that he was *kṣīti-dhareśvara-vaṇśa-samudbharah* (Yamin 1962: 6; c-A2, 3), 'sprung from the family of the Lord of the Mountains', that is, from the lineage of the kings of Majapahit.²⁴

Although this is rather a general qualification, from which nothing specific about Rājasawardhana's relationship to the king may be deduced, there is, in fact, little choice in the present circumstances. A man who was a member of the royal house and who took precedence over two of the king's sons, both in the list of the Waringin Pitu charter and in the royal succession, can hardly have been anything other than the king's *eldest* son. Admittedly there is the possibility of a given king being his predecessor's son-in-law, as was King Wikramawardhana, though not, one would imagine, when that predecessor had sons with a right to the throne themselves.

This brings us to the conclusion that the four kings who acceded to the throne in the period 1447-1466 succeeded each other in the same

order in which they occur in the Waringin Pitu charter, because they were a father and his first, second and third son.

Consequently, the latter were also the sons of Kṛtawijaya's consort, Jayeśwarī, Bhre Daha, who therefore was not only queen dowager after her husband's death in 1451, but also queen mother until her own death in 1464.²⁵

A second consequence of the above conclusion concerns the identity of the Bhre Tumapël who is mentioned in the genealogical passage of Pararaton 30 as the father of the Princesses of Jagaraga, Tanjungpura and Pajang. He was either Kṛtawijaya or the latter's elder brother, since they both bore the title of Bhre Tumapël (see pp. 213 and 222 above), though presumably the younger succeeded the elder after the latter's death about 1427 (Par. 30: 3, 7; 31 : 24). Since the Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas who occurs in this same passage without any mention of his father was Suraprabhāwa and was therefore, as has been stated above, the son of Kṛtawijaya, who consequently cannot also have been the father of the said princesses, it follows that the Bhre Tumapël who occurs in this passage as the father of these princesses was Kṛtawijaya's elder brother.

Finally, we must return to the last four persons listed in the Waringin Pitu charter, following Suraprabhāwa and his consort. Since Suraprabhāwa was King Kṛtawijaya's youngest child, it must be assumed that the persons following him in the list belonged to the next generation, and, therefore, were most probably the children(-in-law) of one or more of those preceding them in the list.

One of the latter, the Princess of Kabalan (No. 9), was the daughter of a Princess of Matahun (Par. 30: 12-13, 17), whose father was Prince of Wīrabhūmi (Par. 30: 11-12). These two titles are also borne by the persons listed as Nos. 12 and 13 in the Waringin Pitu charter, namely Samarawijaya, Prince of Matahun, and his wife Pureśwarī, Princess of Wīrabhūmi. Since such appanage titles often remained in the same line (the Prince of Wīrabhūmi's adoptive father had been Prince of Matahun, and his own wife had been Princess of Wīrabhūmi before him, Krom 1931: 384-5), it is likely that Samarawijaya, being Prince of Matahun, was the son of the Princess of Kabalan and her husband Giriśawardhana, who later became king (1456-1466).

No similar argument is available for the Prince of Kēling and the Princess of Kalinggapura (Nos. 14 and 15 of the Waringin Pitu list). One of them may have been another child of Giriśawardhana, or a child of the latter's younger brother Suraprabhāwa. Both possibilities

are admissible, though the latter perhaps a little more than the former, as it may be expected that the two brothers had at least one child each.

The preceding discussion implies that there were no children of Girīśawardhana's elder brother Rājasawardhana among the members of the youngest generation in the list, since if there were, they would almost certainly have preceded Girīśawardhana's children here. That Rājasawardhana had no children in 1447 is in agreement with our earlier conclusion (see p. 223 above) that his marriage to the Princess of Tanjungpura had been concluded only very recently, since her first husband had not died much earlier than 1447. They did have children soon after this, however.

Sang Sinagara and his children

King Rājasawardhana (1451-1453) is mentioned three times in the Pararaton, though only once under that name. The second and third times he is called *sang Sinagara*, which seems to be a kind of surname. Since the meaning of this surname is unclear (*si* + *nagara*?) it may be an abbreviated form of Sēmi-nagara, as Berg has suggested (1962: 76), on the analogy of Sēmi-ning-Rat, a title given to Jaya-Wiśnuwardhana in the 13th century (Poerbatjaraka 1922: 440-441) and to Kṛtawardhana in the 14th century (Pigeaud 1960-1963 III: 157). There are also other alternatives, however, such as Singa-nagara ('lion of the state') and Sinā-nagara ('radiance of the state'). On the other hand, the form in which we have this name in the Pararaton was already an old one, since Tomé Pires, the Portuguese traveller who was in Java in 1513, heard it on being informed that a former king, the grandfather of the king of his own time, had been called Bataram Sinagara (Cortesão 1944: 230; cf. De Graaf 1952: 138).

It is not stated in so many words in the Pararaton that Rājasawardhana, who became king in 1451, and *sang Sinagara*, who died in 1453, were one and the same person. This identity is nevertheless clearly suggested in the context as we have it, and any doubts in this respect would necessitate changes of the text, which displays an extreme economy of words but is not demonstrably defective (cf. Berg 1962: 75-78).

On this basis it can be assumed that the last sentence concerning *sang Sinagara* (Par. 32: 23-25; almost the very last sentence of the Pararaton), in which his four children are mentioned, also refers to King Rājasawardhana. This sentence poses several problems of interpretation and prompts a number of more far-reaching questions. An obvious question to be asked is: if Rājasawardhana had four children, why

was he succeeded by someone else? And secondly, if none of his children succeeded him, why are they mentioned further on in the text and in relation to a king who died in 1478? Some sort of political irregularity is suggested by these very Pararaton data themselves. The eldest child is referred to as Bhre Koripan, and, therefore, possessed the same title as his or her father had borne in 1447, probably until the latter became king in 1451. At that moment, it may be supposed, Rājasawardhana, like other kings before him, transferred his title to his eldest child, who thus clearly became his heir apparent. Nevertheless this Bhre Koripan did not succeed his or her father on his death in 1453: there was no *prabhu* for three years after that. Was there a struggle for the succession which was responsible for this interregnum, and was it lost by Bhre Koripan, seeing that Bhre Wēngkēr became *prabhu* in 1456?

If so, neither Bhre Koripan nor any of his or her brothers or sisters gained the upper hand in 1466 either, when Bhre Wēngkēr died and Suraprabhāwa became king. Did they organize resistance to the new king two years later? If so, the effect may be reflected in the obscure Pararaton sentence about king Suraprabhāwa which reads: *Prabhu rong tahun. Tumuli sah saking kaḍaton* (Par. 32: 22), and which was translated by Brandes as "He was king for two years. After that he left the *kraton*". However, since it is proved by the Pamintihan charter that Suraprabhāwa was still king in 1473, it is impossible that his leaving the *kraton* two years after his accession, in 1468, signified the end of his reign. Teeuw/Robson (1969: 17) have shown the way out by proposing the translation: "After he had been king for two years, he left the *kraton*", implying that he returned after a certain time, and thus was the unnamed king who died in the *kraton* in 1478 (Par. 32: 25). Was there an initially successful resistance of Rājasawardhana's children to Suraprabhāwa in 1468? And is that the reason why they are introduced at precisely this point in the text?

The sentence concerned reads: *Putranira sang Sinagara, bhre Koripan, bhre Mataram, bhre Pamotan, pamungsu bhre Kērtabhumi, kapērnah paman, bhre prabhu sang mokta ring kaḍaton i śaka 1400*. Brandes translated it as: "The children of Sinagara were Bhre Koripan, Bhre Mataram, Bhre Pamotan, and the youngest, Bhre Kērtabhumi, who was an uncle of the king who died in the *kraton* in Śaka 1400". At the same time he pointed out in his annotations that the text does not indicate who was the uncle and who the nephew, the translator of course being compelled to opt for either the one or the other alter-

native, even though it is impossible to take a decision in the matter on the basis of the Pararaton text alone (Brandes 1920: 200). Berg confirms this. While taking the opposite view and translating the pertinent words as "the nephews of the king" (1957: 420), he added a similar note saying that he was not sure of his translation. Schrieke (1957: 57), and after him Teeuw/Robson (1969: 17), advocated a third possibility, though it seems linguistically the least probable one. They suggested that Sinagara himself was the uncle of the king who died in 1478. The solution of the problem is obvious once it is accepted that Sinagara = Rājasawardhana was a brother of Suraprabhāwa, and the latter was the king who died in 1478. In that case the children of Sinagara were the nephews or nieces of King Suraprabhāwa, as Berg had surmised.

This conclusion is confirmed entirely by a closer look at the Pararaton passage concerned. In the first place it should be pointed out that the words *paman* and *bhre* are separated by a comma, showing that they are not meant to constitute a single phrase with the meaning 'the uncle of the king'. Secondly, if the latter meaning had been intended, the words *pamanira bhre prabhu* would have been used in the language of the Pararaton, that is, incorporating the suffix *-(n)ira*, 'his', in the same way as it is used in the phrase *putranira sang Sinagara*, 'the children of Sinagara', at the beginning of the quotation;²⁰ or rather, since the word *kapĕrnah*, denoting a family relationship, precedes the phrase, the connecting word *denira*, 'to him', would have been used, as it is in comparable cases in the Pararaton, e.g. Par. 16: 16, where someone is qualified as *kapĕrnah kaponakan denirâpañji Tohjaya*, 'who was the nephew of Apanji Tohjaya'.

Hence the sentence quoted above should, in fact, be read as two separate sentences. The former informs us that Sinagara's children were called such and such, and the latter that the king who died in the *kraton* was their uncle. The correct translation of the passage, therefore, is: "The children of Sinagara (were) Bhre Koripan, Bhre Mataram, Bhre Pamotan, and, the youngest, Bhre Kĕrtabhumi; (and) their uncle was the king who died in the *kraton* in Śaka 1400". This clearly indicates that Sinagara and the unnamed king who died in 1478 were brothers, in conformity with our earlier conclusion on the basis of data from outside the Pararaton. This conclusion in its turn confirms that the unnamed king who died in 1478 was indeed Suraprabhāwa, who had acceded to the throne in 1466, and whose death is not mentioned earlier.

The new interpretation of this Pararaton passage implies that the text provides no basis for assuming, as has been done repeatedly, that

Sinagara's youngest son Bhre Kĕrtabhumi became king in 1468 or 1474. This idea was first put forward by Miss Muusses (1929: 210), who tentatively identified him with Suraprabhāwa, advancing the rather weak argument that both are explicitly mentioned as a youngest son (in the Pararaton and Trawulan III charter respectively), and it was indicated by Krom as a possibility (1931: 449). It was put forward again in a revised form by Slametmuljana (1968: 41; 1976: 196, 238). He presented it as a certainty since, according to him, Bhre Kĕrtabhumi is mentioned as King Kung To Bu Mi of Majapahit in what he calls the *Chinese Chronicles of Semarang*, for which he refers to a book published about 1964 by M. O. Parlindungan. As Parlindungan claims that what he published (1964: 650-664) is based on Dutch extracts from these chronicles, while the whereabouts of the Chinese originals are unknown, it is impossible to check these assertions. Now that the theory that Bhre Kĕrtabhumi became king of Majapahit in these years turns out not to be corroborated by the Pararaton, this seems a decisive argument against the authenticity of these Chinese chronicles, rather than the alleged contents of these chronicles serving as support for the theory. The theory was a weak one from the start, for that matter, as it seems most unlikely that anyone would succeed to the throne while his three elder brothers were still alive.

A second Old Javanese source mentioning Sinagara's children has become available recently with Zoetmulder's publication (1974: 506-507) of the text of the poem entitled *Banawa Sĕkar*, 'Flower Boat', which is one of the shorter works of Tanakung, the mid-15th century Javanese poet mentioned earlier (see note 16). It is a typically occasional poem, describing the magnificent gifts presented by several princely persons on the occasion of a grand funeral festival (*śrāddha*) held in honour of a deceased king (*prabhu*) whose posthumous name was *sang mokta maluy ing Somyālaya*, 'Released in the Somya heaven'. It is unknown which king bore this posthumous name, but the poem does mention the titles of the princely persons making the gifts, namely Kṛtabhūmi, Mata-ram, Pamotan, Lasēm and Kahuripan. Apart from that of Lasēm, these are exactly the same titles, mentioned in exactly the same order, moreover, (though starting from the youngest) as those of Sinagara's children in the Pararaton. Hence one can be reasonably sure that these personages featuring in Tanakung's poem were the children of Sinagara.

As regards the question of whether they were his sons or daughters, the poem contains some clues, though not decisive ones, pointing to the former possibility. In the first place, the persons concerned were all

married and accompanied by their consorts, *dampati*, at the festival (line 1.1.d). Though this word does not actually indicate the sex of the consort, it is used most often in the sense of 'together with his wife'. Secondly, it is said at the end of the poem (line 3.1.a) that the gifts which were presented by the royal personages aroused the love (*kung*) of the girls (*adyah*) present, and one would think that girls may have been mentioned here because the gifts came from male persons. These admittedly meagre indications may be considered nevertheless as pointing to the likelihood that Sinagara's children were all of them male persons, and in any case as sufficiently strong to regard them as such at least for the sake of convenience.

In the opening line of his poem the poet informs us that the *śrāddha* festival was held or arranged (*winangun*) by the Prince of Jiwana, that is, the Prince of Kahuripan, or Bhre Koripan, the eldest son of King Sinagara (Jiwana being a well-known alternative Sanskrit name for Kahuripan). Since such *śrāddha* were given by the direct descendant(s) of the deceased, the conclusion seems warranted that the *prabhu* with the posthumous name *sang mokta ing Somyālaya* for whom this *śrāddha* was held by Sinagara's sons was the latter's father, King Sinagara himself.

The last, and highest, personage mentioned as participating in the festival, who presented the beautiful flower boat as his gift, was the king, *śrī nātha prabhu* (line 2.1.a).²⁷ Though no name of this king is mentioned, it seems most likely that he was the successor of the King Sinagara whose *śrāddha* he attended, that is, King Girīśawardhana, who acceded to the throne in 1456, three years after Sinagara's death, and reigned until 1466. If it was this king who was present at the festival, it cannot have been held immediately after Sinagara's demise because of the three kingless years after Sinagara's death, and may therefore have been the great concluding *śrāddha*, the *paśraddhan agung* (Par. 29: 27), or *śrāddha wēkasan* (Nāg. 63-2-2) or *sampūrṇa* (cf. the next section), which was held 12 years after a person's demise, hence in this case in 1465. Perhaps this is the reason why the festival is designated the *mahāśrāddha* ('the great ś.') at the end of the poem (line 3.1.c).

If the main points of this historical setting of Tanakung's poem are acceptable, then the most important general conclusion which may be drawn from it is that at the time of this festival there apparently was no conflict whatsoever between the then king and the sons of his predecessor, King Sinagara. The fact that he attended his predecessor's

funeral festival and was the most distinguished participant in it does not accord with the theory that he had seized the power in an irregular way and to the prejudice of Sinagara's sons, let alone that there had been a civil war at the time of King Sinagara, or that the latter had been killed in a rebellion against him, as Schrieke (1957: 65) has contended, without supporting this with arguments, however. It seems that at least one of our earlier questions regarding the possible occurrence of irregularities must thus be answered in the negative. The reason why Sinagara's eldest son did not succeed his father on his death, or three years later, may have been simply that he was still considered too young. If we are right in contending that Sinagara's children are not mentioned in the Waringin Pitu charter of 1447 because they were not yet born at that time, his eldest son must have been 6 years old at most when his father died in 1453, and 9 when his uncle Girīśawardhana ascended the throne in 1456. It nonetheless remains obscure why he was still excluded from the succession on his uncle's death in 1466.

This seems to be a crucial question, and in order to get a possible answer to it we must return to the Pararaton passage (32: 21-25) about King Suraprabhāwa and Sinagara's sons. Although the interpretation of this passage arrived at above is not incorrect from a linguistic point of view, it nonetheless raises several as yet unclarified questions. According to this interpretation the king left his *kraton* after two years. It leaves us in the dark as to why he did so, however. He must have afterwards returned to the *kraton*, since it is expressly stated that he died in it; but we are not explicitly told that he returned, let alone when. Instead, the sons of the former King Sinagara are introduced suddenly, and for no apparent reason.

All these obscurities are eliminated if we opt for another interpretation and assume that it was not King Suraprabhāwa who left the *kraton* in 1468, but his nephews, the sons of Sinagara. If this is what did happen, in fact, the question of why the king left his *kraton* and when and why he returned to it need not be answered, because he never left his residence. Secondly, the reason why Sinagara's sons are introduced at this point becomes clear: they left the *kraton* in which their uncle resided as king. And thirdly, their reason for leaving, although it is not mentioned in the text, is not far to seek. The departure of royal princes from the *kraton* can mean only one thing in a Javanese context: it is tantamount to an open declaration of disloyalty to the king. In the present case the basic reason for this disloyalty must have been that Sinagara's sons, especially the eldest, the Prince of Kahuripan, had a

greater right to the throne than their uncle Suraprabhāwa, since they were the sons of his eldest brother. In their eyes Suraprabhāwa must have been a usurper who refused to cede the throne which was their birthright to them.

Although the text of the Pararaton passage concerned is not unambiguous in this respect, it definitely admits of an interpretation which is in accordance with the above assumption. In that case only the full stop after the word *kaḍaton* (Par. 32:22) needs to be deleted, and the resultant sentences ... *Prabhu rong tahun. Tumuli sah saking kaḍaton putranira sang Sinagara* ... translated as "(Suraprabhāwa) was king for two years. Then the sons of Sinagara left the *kraton* ...".

This translation is no more than a possibility, however. It would have been a certainty if the text had read, for instance: *Tumuli putranira sang Sinagara sah saking kaḍaton*. Although the inversion of subject and predicate is very common in the Pararaton, and though *tumuli* usually introduces a new topic, so that accordingly a new subject may be expected after it, it cannot be denied that it is also possible for the previous subject, namely 'the king' in this case, to be the subject of the following verb, i.e., 'left' (the *kraton*). Hence it cannot be decided with certainty from a purely linguistic interpretation of this Pararaton passage whether it was the king or Sinagara's sons who left the *kraton*. We are forced to leave the matter undecided, therefore, though the interpretation suggested here offers the marked advantage of making the whole passage much more comprehensible and leaving none of our earlier questions unanswered.

Thus there is at least the possibility that the Pararaton is informing us of an incipient rebellion of Sinagara's sons against King Suraprabhāwa here. But it remains unknown whether their action had any further consequences, or whether any of them succeeded their uncle after the latter's death in 1478. The Pararaton has nothing to say on the subject because this text nearly ends at this point and mentions no further kings.

There definitely were Hindu-Javanese kings after 1478, however, as we know from the Pěṭak and Trailokyapuri stone inscriptions of 1486, as well as from information by Tomé Pires. The latter was told that Sinagara was succeeded by his son Bataram Mataram (i.e., Bhre Mataram), and the latter by Batara Vigiaya (i.e., Bhra Wijaya, which according to later Javanese tradition was the name of the last king of Majapahit), the ruling king at the time Pires visited Java in 1513 (Cortese 1944: 230).

The Pětak and Trailokyapuri charters

The four charters issued in A.D. 1486 have long been known as the Dukuhan Duku(h) and the Jiyu or Mojojejer stone inscriptions, after the villages to the south of Mojosari where they were found. They are referred to in the present article as the Pětak and the Trailokyapuri I, II and III charters, following the system introduced by Damais (1952: 8-9), which more appropriately uses the names of the principal villages mentioned in the charters themselves.²⁸

They are of special importance for the political history of Java in that they testify that there was a Hindu-Javanese king of Majapahit well after 1478, the year adopted by later Javanese tradition as that of the final fall and destruction of Majapahit by Muslim conquerors. They clearly demonstrate that this tradition cannot be based on historical fact, therefore. In the second place they are of interest insofar as they have given rise to the alternative theory, first propounded by Adinegoro (1915: 29-32) and later confirmed by Krom, that Majapahit was conquered by Hindu-Javanese rebels at about this date.

Since they are the only contemporary Javanese documents from the last quarter of the 15th century, and there are no texts comparable to the Pararaton which may be turned to for an elucidation of the isolated pieces of information which these inscriptions contain, while the Waringin Pitu charter is likewise of little help here, the inscriptions of 1486 remain the sole basis for the history of this period. If some new evidence is available nevertheless, it is provided by the texts of these inscriptions themselves.

The texts have been made available in Brandes' transliterations, which were posthumously published by Krom (1913: 213-226) as OJO 91-95. But this posthumous work of Brandes' is clearly unfinished and incomplete, and even contains doubtful readings,²⁹ while the texts as published by Yamin (1962-1964 II: 233-256) show only a few improvements, based on new readings made available to him by De Casparis. Therefore, in order to have a satisfactory basis for the discussion in the present section, I have made new transliterations of all four of the inscriptions, as completely as the writing on the stones allowed, using new rubbings, which were prepared in 1976 in the Archaeological Museum at Mojokerto, where the four stones of the Trailokyapuri I, II and IIIa,b inscriptions are kept as Nos. 123, 61, 432, and 403, and at the *desa* of Kěmbang Sore, where the Pětak inscription still exists in the *paḍukuhan* (hamlet) of Dukuh.³⁰ The new transliterations contain a number of amended or additional readings, some of which compel us to reconsider

earlier interpretations and theories. As a whole, however, the inscriptions remain isolated documents, leaving many questions unanswered. For instance, they contain the names of several kings and princes without providing information on their relationship to members of the royal family known from other sources.

The Pětak and Trailokyapuri I charters were issued by a king (*bha-tāra prabhu*) called *śrī* Girindrawardhana *dyah* Raṇawijaya, and the Trailokyapuri III charter by a prince called *śrī* Girindrawardhana *śrī* Singhawardhana *dyah* Wijayakusuma. Krom called them members of a Girindrawardhana dynasty because they shared this name. The term 'dynasty' seems less appropriate, however, since Raṇawijaya is the only king known from this 'dynasty'. Wijayakusuma was Prince of Kēling (*śrī mahārāja bhaṭṭāre Kling*), according to his charter, and — whether he was the king's brother or son (Krom 1931:451) — never himself became king, as can be inferred with sufficient certainty from the Trailokyapuri III charter.

This inscription records Wijayakusuma's order for a royal charter (*hajiprasāsti*) to be drawn up, provided with the Girindrawardhana seal and copied on copper, palm-leaf or stone (*umunggw i salah sikya ning tamrariptopala*), to the effect that the villages of Sawek, Pung, Talasan and Batu were granted to His Eminence the court priest, *śrī* Brahmarāja Ganggadhara, to serve as a temple foundation (*śīma paryangan*) referred to as the sacred religious domain (*sang hyang dharma*) of Trailokyapuri, which would be an abode (*pratiṣṭa*) for the holy sage Bharadhwaja and for the god (*śrī bhaṭṭāra*) Rāma. The inscription then goes on to say that the boundary posts protecting the eight quarters (*tugu aṣṭadikparipāṇa*) had already been put up (*tinañ-jēngan*) and the order already been written on copperplates (*uwus handika tambra*), when suddenly the prince died, lit. 'was unexpectedly overtaken by his return to the Śiwa heaven' (*mogha sira kālangan umantuk ing Śiwabhawana*). Since the prince's grant was cut short (*tan tulus kīrtyānugraha śrī mahārāja*) by his death, the beneficiary, Brahmarāja, was requesting the help of King Raṇawijaya through the intermediary of the great brahmin Madhawācārya and the *patih* Mahāwīrottama Pu Wahan.³¹ The King thereupon confirmed the grant of Prince Singhawardhana by issuing a royal charter provided with the Girindrawardhana seal.

It is obvious from the text of the inscription that the sudden death of Prince Singhawardhana *dyah* Wijayakusuma, who initiated the Trailokyapuri land grant, occurred while he was Prince of Kēling, and

that he cannot therefore ever have become *prabhu*, even if he had the right to eventually succeed King Raṇawijaya.

Where the inscription mentions that the king confirmed the prince's grant, the latter's relationship to that king is indicated by a term which unfortunately cannot be explained with sufficient certainty. This term was read by Brandes as *harananira*, a word which would seem to be made up of *haranan*, from *haran*, 'name', plus the suffix *-an*, and *ira*, 'his', but such a word *haranan* is unknown. Other readings are also possible, however, since the shapes of the characters for *na* and *ka* are so alike, and even overlapping in these inscriptions of 1468, that it is impossible to distinguish between them solely on the basis of their palaeographical form. Therefore one or both *n*'s of *harananira* may also be read as *k*. The reading *harakakira* does not yield any sensible result; *haranakira*, on the other hand, seems to contain the word *ranak*, 'son', and *harakanira* the word *raka*, 'elder brother'. In both cases, however, we are left with a superfluous initial syllable *ha-*, while even if this syllable could be explained, we would still be left with the choice between 'son' and 'elder brother'.

Be that as it may, the Prince of Kēling's relationship to the king clearly was a close one. Though not a king himself, he apparently was able to issue a king's charter provided with the Girindrawardhana seal, that is, the seal which bore the consecration name of the *prabhu*, who would normally be the only person entitled to issue such charters. Admittedly the Prince of Kēling may possibly have had the right to use this royal seal because Girindrawardhana was also one of his own consecration names. But this fact itself again points to a close relationship to the king. That he had two different consecration names, Girindrawardhana and Singhawardhana, and that one of these was the same as that of the king are two quite striking peculiarities, the reasons for which are unknown, but which must have been very relevant for his special relation to the king, distinguishing him from the other royal princes. The inscription informs us that there were, in fact, several royal princes (or princesses) in the passage where they are referred to collectively as *śrī paduka bhāṭṭāra* to all of whom was offered (*samudaya samēnaturan*) a gift of 5 pieces of gold, over against the 10 received by the king and the 3 by the *patih* and other functionaries.

It seems most likely that the royal prince who enjoyed this special position was the king's eldest son and heir apparent, who, however, was prevented from succeeding his father by his early death. Here, then, we would have some justification for using the term Girindrawardhana

'dynasty', namely for something perhaps intended by the king, provided there really had been discontinuity in the hereditary succession of the Majapahit kings. But this does not seem to have been the case.

Girindrawardhana is also found in the Waringin Pitu charter as the royal consecration name of the Prince of Kĕling Girindrawardhana *dyah* Wijayakaraṇa (No. 14 of the list). This does not imply that this Prince of Kĕling of 1447 can be identified with either the King or the Prince of Kĕling bearing the name Girindrawardhana in 1486, as Berg (1962: 88) tried to do. Apart from Berg's error in stating that Raṇawijaya was Prince of Kĕling, the second names of the three Girindrawardhanas are neither the same nor synonymous. This is decisive for establishing their identity as three different individuals. On the other hand, the occurrence of the name Girindrawardhana in the earlier inscription shows that it was by no means an innovation monopolized by the king and prince of 1486, so that it cannot be taken as an indication that King Girindrawardhana was the founder of a new dynasty, as Berg did when explaining the name as meaning "New Śailendra", or "successor to the Śailendra kings" (1969: 356, 654). On the contrary, it is an indication rather of continuity in the royal family of those times, while the name may perhaps even be connected with the term Girindrawangśa, 'the Line of the Lord of the Mountain', used to designate the royal house of Majapahit.

The thesis that a successful rebellion had taken place is founded on the Pĕtak inscription. In it mention is made of a war against Majapahit (*yuddha lawan ing Majapahit*), and of King Girindrawardhana's favourable attitude towards those who had successfully launched the attack. According to Krom's interpretation (1931: 450) it was Girindrawardhana himself who, as a prince of Daha, had attacked and conquered Majapahit, ousted the king, and established his own dynasty. Krom proposed as date for this event the year 1478, assuming that later Javanese tradition had re-interpreted the event but preserved the date.

However, several of Krom's suppositions must be called into question. In the first place, Daha is not mentioned in the inscription at all. The person who launched the attack is called in it *sang munggw ing Jinggan*, which means literally "he who resides in Jinggan". Though this expression is perhaps not unambiguous,³² it may most obviously be interpreted as "the Lord of Jinggan", on the analogy of such expressions as *sang munggw ing Lasĕm*, which is used in the Nāgarakṛtāgama (5-1-2) as

a designation for the Princess of Lasēm. It is not known who this Lord of Jinggan was, however.

On the other hand, his victory is referred to by a term, *kadigwijayan*, which is used in the Nāgarakṛtāgama to describe the "world-conquering rule" of King Hayam Wuruk (Nāg. 94-2-2), and which therefore seems to imply that after his victory this Lord of Jinggan became King of Majapahit.

In the second place, the contents of the inscription leave no doubt that it was not Girindrawardhana who became king immediately after this victory. The inscription is, in fact, a confirmation by King Girindrawardhana of a grant by an earlier king to the above-mentioned priest Brahmarāja Ganggadharma because the latter had "promoted (by magical means?) the world conquest of he who resided in Jinggan when engaged in war against Majapahit" (*hamriḥ kādigwijayan ira sang munggw ing Jinggan duk ayunayunan yūdhā lawan ing Majapahit*).³³ This priestly assistance is mentioned in so many words as the reason for the original grant, namely the *desa* Pětak, also called Sumanggala-pura, which was bestowed on Brahmarāja by two persons who are indicated by their posthumous names (unknown from elsewhere) as *sang mokta ring Amṛtāwiśeṣālaya*³⁴ and *sang mokteng Mahālaya-bhawana*. The first, on account of his title *bhaṭṭāra prabhu*, was definitely a king; the second may have been a royal prince. Since the person giving this compensation for services rendered may be assumed to have been the person most directly interested, it may well be that it was this Amṛtawīśeṣālaya who became king after the successful war against Majapahit, which he had possibly initiated himself as Lord of Jinggan, and that Girindrawardhana, who confirmed Amṛtawīśeṣālaya's grant, was (one of) the latter's regular successor(s).

King Girindrawardhana's special connections with Daha seem apparent from one of the titles he bears in the Trailokyapuri I inscription, which in Brandes' transliteration (OJO 92) includes the word Daha. Krom, who translated the title as "the king of śrī Wilwatikta Daha Janggala Kaḍiri", expressed astonishment at the occurrence of both Daha and Kaḍiri in it, since these are two names for the same town or region. He accordingly tried to explain this strange circumstance as follows within the framework of his theory of the emergence of the new Girindrawardhana dynasty. Whereas Janggala Kaḍiri, as the traditional designation for the Javanese kingdom comprising these two parts, clearly refers to the official Javanese royal dignity, the first two names indicate the parts of which the king had now in actual fact composed his king-

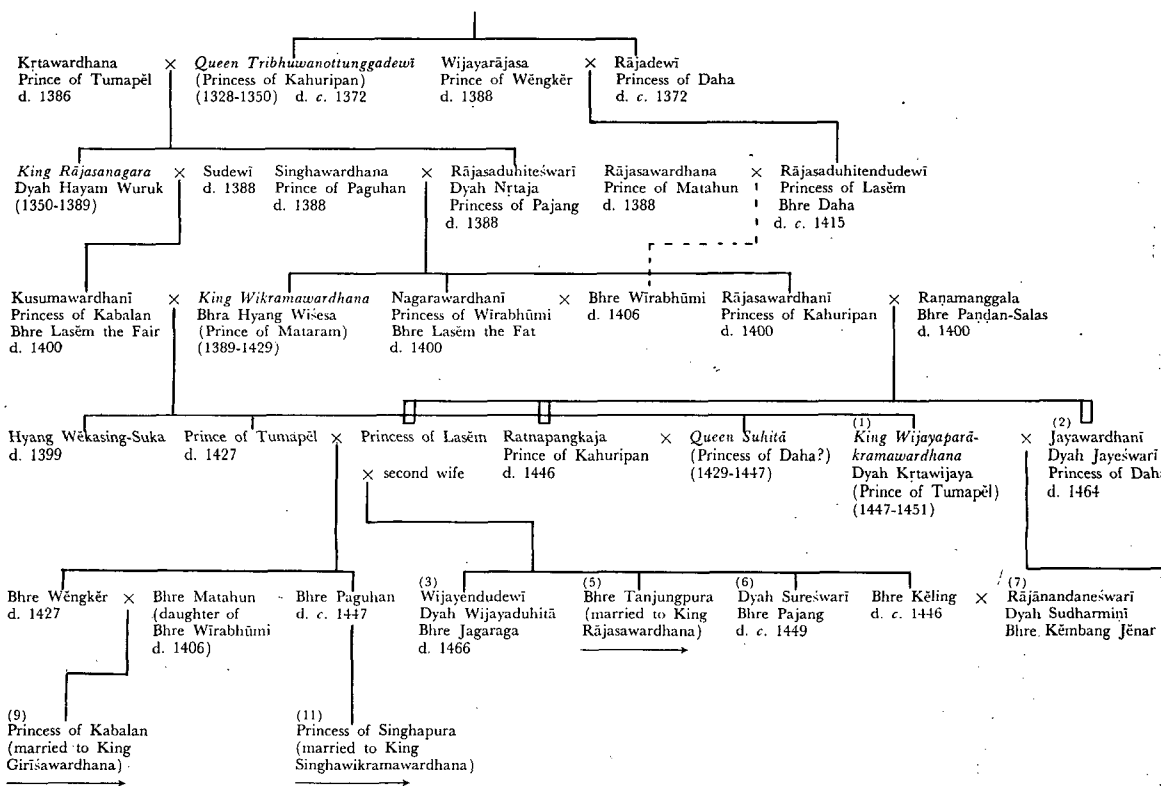
dom, viz. Wilwatikta (a Sanskrit translation of Majapahit), which he had conquered, and Daha, where he came from (Krom 1931: 450-451).

As the rubbings of this inscription show, and as had already been observed earlier (Yamin 1962-1964 II: 235), however, this title actually reads slightly differently and contains the word *pura*, 'royal residence', instead of the supposed Daha. The full title reads: *śrī Wilwatiktapura Janggala Kaḍiri prabhu nātha*,³⁵ and may be translated as "His Majesty the King of the palace of Majapahit in (the Javanese kingdom consisting of) Janggala (and) Kaḍiri". This is a perfectly comprehensible title, containing no strange elements which need to be explained by special theories.

The presence of the word *pura* makes it certain beyond doubt that this king resided in Majapahit.³⁶ King Hayam Wuruk was called Tikta-wilwa-pura-rāja, 'the king of the palace of Majapahit', by the poet of the Nāgarakṛtāgama (73-1-1) in the same way. In 1486 the Javanese king was certainly not "a prabhu residing in Daha", nor had "the centre of gravity . . . moved to Kaḍiri", as Schrieke asserted (1957: 63, 66).

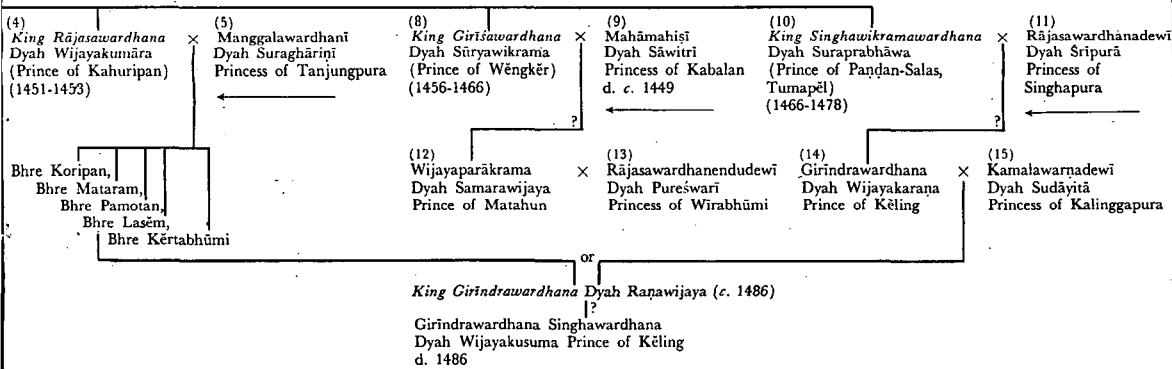
The resultant absence of the word Daha in this inscription shows that here again Krom's theory of a conquest of Majapahit by princes who came from Daha finds no support in the epigraphical evidence. The same applies to the references to Dahanapura in the Trailokyapuri inscriptions, although this name is commonly accepted as indicating 'the palace of/in Daha' (cf. Teeuw 1972: 214). Here there is a connection between King Girindrawardhana and Daha, though not the one supposed by Krom. King Girindrawardhana's possible connections with the earlier kings of Majapahit, conversely, can be inferred from this part of the Trailokyapuri inscriptions.

Two of these inscriptions mention a royal order (issued in I by King Rañawijaya, in III (*inutusan*) by Prince Wijayakusuma) to the court priest Brahmarāja Ganggadhara to perform the final twelfth-year mortuary rites (*dwādaśawarṣa śraddha sampūrṇa*) of someone whose name is recorded most completely in III as *śrī paduka bhaṭṭāra ring Dahanapura* (title) and *sang mokteng Indranibhawana* (posthumous name), and who consequently died twelve years previously, in 1474. Berg's contention (1969: 10) that such funeral rites could not have been postponed for twelve years since Hindu religious thinking makes it essential that the soul of a deceased person reach its new destination without delay, so that the *śraddha* ensuring this should be held as soon as possible, is based on a misunderstanding. The word *sampūrṇa* in the term quoted above shows that this was the final, 'concluding' *śraddha*,



N.B. The figures printed above some of the names refer to the table on p. 211.

*Family relationships between the
Majapahit referent*



members of the royal house of
to in the text

and hence not the only one. In India, too, several successive *śrāddha* may be held. Only the twelve-year interval seems to have been specifically Hindu-Javanese. Although the available information on ancient Javanese religious customs such as this is extremely scanty, there is no reason to call the final *śrāddha* of the *bhaṭṭāra ring* Dahanapura in 1486 a mystification or a mere fiction without any factual basis.

In Krom's view the person concerned was the rebellious Prince of Daha of 1437, whose son Girindrawardhana conquered Majapahit. However, his identification with this earlier *bhaṭṭāra* of Daha (who has turned out to have been Princess Jayeśwarī) has already been shown to be untenable. Secondly, the person who died in 1474 was most probably also a princess, as her posthumous name incorporates the name of the spouse of the god Indra, Indrāṇi. This conclusion, contrary to Schrieke's view (1957: 59), is not in conflict with the title *bhaṭṭāra*, since the Waringin Pitu charter shows that this title was used for princesses as well as princes.

Although it is not known who this princess was, it is certain that her posthumous name also occurs in the Trailokyapuri I charter. As the new rubbing of the inscription at Mojokerto has shown, the correction of Brandes' transliteration of the name Indrabhawana to Indranibhawana, a correction which was already published by Miss Muusses (1929: 213), but for unknown reasons was never adopted by Krom, is justified. Therefore Berg's supposition (1969: 7-9) that two different deceased persons are mentioned in these charters, namely a prince deceased in Indrabhawana and a princess deceased in Indranibhawana, must be rejected. Berg's other hypothesis, according to which there was confusion with the prince who in the Pararaton is called *sang mokta ring Indrabhawana*, that is, King Hayam Wuruk's grandson who died in 1399 (Par. 30: 31), should be discarded for the same reason.

Since it was King Girindrawardhana *dyah* Raṇawijaya (as well as his son (?) Wijayakusuma) who in 1486 arranged the mortuary rites of this Princess of Daha who had died in 1474, the latter most probably was one of his close relatives in the ascending line, possibly his mother or grandmother. The year of the death of this Princess of Daha proves that she must have obtained this title either under King Suraprabhāwa (d. 1478), or under his predecessor, King Giriśawardhana (1456-1466), but in any case after 1464, the year in which the earlier Princess of Daha, the queen mother Jayeśwarī, died. As it is unlikely that this high title was conferred upon anybody but the most highly placed relative of the ruling king, and the consort of King Giriśawardhana had already

died much earlier, it may well have been King Suraprabhāwa's consort, the earlier Princess of Singhapura, who became Princess of Daha at this time and therefore died in 1474. This would then also make King Girindrawardhana the son or grandson of King Suraprabhāwa himself, so that from this point of view, too, he cannot have been a member of a 'new' dynasty.

However, since we do not know whether this Princess of Singhapura was still alive in 1464, it is also possible that the Princess of Daha who died in 1474, instead of being the consort of King Suraprabhāwa, was a close relative of the latter's elder brother, King Rājasawardhana or Sinagara, e.g., his widow, the Princess of Tanjungpura. In that case King Girindrawardhana may have been a direct descendant of King Sinagara, and therefore also a member of the royal house of Majapahit, though of a different branch.

Whether King Girindrawardhana was a descendant of King Sinagara or of King Suraprabhāwa, he was certainly no less legitimate than either of these kings. In either case the 'war against Majapahit' as it is mentioned in the Pĕtak inscription was not a rebellious conquest of Majapahit, but rather its reconquest by a member of the legitimate royal house. It is not impossible that this war was, in fact, a civil war between the representatives of two branches of the royal house, namely a senior and a junior line, the sons of King Sinagara and the son(s) of King Suraprabhāwa, who could both claim a legitimate right to the throne, and that, whether King Suraprabhāwa was succeeded by his own son or by one of Sinagara's sons in 1478, whoever did succeed was attacked by the other. One thing is certain: whichever of the two lines launched the attack was also the victor, King Girindrawardhana's reign being founded on this victory.

At this point our discussion must come to an end, as it will be obvious that the available data do not allow of any more definite conclusions. To go beyond this would definitely be venturing into the realm of pure speculation. Only when new evidence comes to light will further conclusions be possible.

Conclusion

The new evidence provided by the Waringin Pitu charter, by Tanakung's short poem "The Flower Boat", and by the inscriptions of 1486 has enabled us, by a careful comparison with the few other extant documents, in particular the relevant Pararaton passages and some epigraphical material, to reach a number of specific conclusions which cast a new

light on the internal situation and development of Majapahit in the course of the 15th century. Although the degree of certainty of these conclusions varies, ranging from (near) certainty to acceptable likelihood, depending on the available supporting evidence, taken together they produce a picture which is less gloomy than the one painted by Krom and others.

There is no hint of the rebellion by a Bhre Daha in 1437 which Krom supposed. On the contrary, the latter was a legitimate Princess of Daha, Jayawardhanī *dyah* Jayeśwari, the consort of Wijayaparākramawardhana *dyah* Kṛtawijaya, who was Prince of Tumapĕl from 1427 (when he succeeded his deceased elder brother as such) to 1447 (when he became *prabhu*, succeeding his childlessly deceased sister Suhitā). Jayeśwari was the younger sister of Suhitā's husband and had become Princess of Daha in 1429, when Suhitā succeeded her deceased father King Wikramawardhana as *prabhu*. In all of these cases there was question only of regular successions within a royal family whose members were closely connected by blood and marriage. There were no signs of an internal weakening and decline.

There are likewise no positive traces of a rebellion at the time of King Rājasawardhana's death in 1453 (Schrieke), even though he was not succeeded by one of his sons, but, after a period of three kingless years, by his younger brother Girīśawardhana. On the contrary, despite the fact that this was strictly speaking an irregular succession, this king participated in the great funeral festival which Rājasawardhana's sons arranged for their deceased father in 1465, as the most distinguished guest. Possibly the reason why none of them had succeeded as *prabhu* was simply that they were still too young at the time. In this period, again, there were no open signs of internal dissensions in the royal family.

The three kings who succeeded one another after King Kṛtawijaya's death in 1451 were anything but obscure rulers from different houses or from different parts of what was an assemblage of kingdoms, who one after the other managed to obtain the hegemony in a practically dissolved kingdom of Majapahit (Teeuw/Robson, Slametmuljana). On the contrary, Kings Rājasawardhana *dyah* Wijayakumāra (1451-1453), Girīśawardhana *dyah* Sūryawikrama (1456-1466) and Singhawikramawardhana *dyah* Suraprabhāwa (1466-1478) were the first, second and third sons of King Kṛtawijaya, and therefore members of the same royal family,³⁷ being already mentioned as such in the charter of 1447. They ruled in the old *kraton* in what must still have been the undivided

kingdom of Majapahit, "the Javanese country consisting of Janggala and Kaḍiri" (charter of Pamintihan of 1473).

No more was King Girindrawardhana *dyah* Raṇawijaya, who issued some of the charters of 1486, an obscure ruler of Daha, who had conquered the *kraton* of Majapahit as a rebel and had established a new dynasty (Krom). On the contrary, he, too, most likely was a member of the same royal family, being a descendant either of King Suraprabhāwa or of the latter's eldest brother, King Rājasawardhana. In either case the conquest of Majapahit which is mentioned in 1486, and which must have taken place some time between 1478 and 1486, most probably was rather a reconquest of the *kraton* by a branch of the legitimate royal line.

This conquest of Majapahit possibly marked the end of a civil war between these two branches of the royal line — the descendants of King Kṛtawijaya's eldest and youngest sons respectively — which each claimed a certain right to the throne. In this civil war, then, the discord within the royal family, which was rooted in the irregular succession after King Rājasawardhana's death, came into the open. But there were still Hindu-Javanese kings after that, who in 1486 at least still resided in the old *kraton* of Majapahit. The end of this kingdom did not come until some forty years later, after it had been gradually reduced in size by the continual attacks of Muslim harbour states along the north coast like Dēmak and Surabaya, as we learn from Tomé Pires' account of his visit to Java in 1513.

By the beginning of the 15th century Majapahit had lost its ascendancy in the Indonesian Archipelago outside Java, and this was a considerable decline in comparison with its greatness at the time of King Hayam Wuruk and his famous *patih*, Gajah Mada. Nevertheless — and this is the general conclusion which emerges from our discussion in the present paper — it continued to exist as the supreme Javanese kingdom in much the same way as before for probably the whole of the 15th century. It had a continuous line of kings residing in the traditional court, who occasionally issued charters in the old style. There was considerable activity in the fields of religion and literature, as great *śrāddha* festivals were still held in 1465 and 1486 and religious foundations established in Waringin Pitu (1447) and Trailokyapuri (1486). Its scholars still had an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit, as the Sanskrit passages of the Waringin Pitu charter testify. Moreover, a community in which Hindu-Javanese literature and religion could flourish must have existed, as is presupposed by the works of Tanakung, who continued the age-old

tradition of Old Javanese belles lettres at this time. His poem on metrics entitled *Wṛtasañcaya* no doubt was intended as a guide for his fellow-poets, while his *kakawin* about the Śiwarātri ritual was a didactic means of promoting, and perhaps even introducing, this Śiwaite ceremony in Java. His personal familiarity with Indian culture is demonstrable in both works. This picture of a flourishing Hindu-Javanese culture in the 15th century is altogether compatible with the conclusions reached in the present article, and not at all with the picture of political disintegration painted in the introduction to the Śiwarātrikalpa edition.

Our conclusions relating to the political and cultural history of Majapahit in the 15th century have been drawn on the basis of the existing documents, but in turn have contributed to a better understanding of these same documents. It has proved possible to identify most of the royal persons mentioned in the Waringin Pitu charter and to reconstruct the historical setting for Tanakung's poem "The Flower Boat". Most importantly, a better evaluation of the final pages of the *Pararaton* has been arrived at. These have as a rule been condemned as being too obscure, confused, incoherent and even corrupt to be of any use to the historian at all. The considerable difficulties they present to the interpreter have now proved to be attributable mainly to their extreme verbal economy, besides their omission of many essential, basic facts, let alone wider background information. Clearly this has constituted a considerable obstacle to a correct translation, let alone a correct interpretation. It has now turned out that the information contained in this part of the *Pararaton*, as far as it goes, is reliable and intelligible, and can be used as a historical source in combination with information from other sources.

It should be stressed that the Old Javanese texts discussed in the foregoing have been used as they stand, unchanged and practically without emendations. In this I have proceeded from the firm conviction that philological spade-work is the only sound basis for historical research of the type that is dependent on written documents, and that the optimum value these documents can have lies in their texts as they have been transmitted, no amount of emendation being able to compete with the original text, unless this is clearly corrupt. One implication of this is that, although one text may be able to supplement or clarify another, beyond the limits of what the texts actually say one should be content to leave questions undecided in preference to venturing into the realm of outright speculation.

We ourselves have repeatedly come to the limits of our sources. Not

all of the royal persons mentioned in the Waringin Pitu charter proved to be identifiable, because some are mentioned nowhere else. In the same way the exact role played by Sinagara's sons and the precise family relationships of King Girindrawardhana had to be left undecided, because there is clearly an unbridgeable gap in our information between the end of the Pararaton and the inscriptions of 1486. Here one must content oneself with mentioning a number of possibilities, mainly in order to indicate that the limits of our knowledge have been reached and that only new evidence which may come to light may enable us to decide between these possibilities. Often new evidence shows previous speculations to have been fruitless, the new facts being altogether different from any imagined possibilities.

This is clearly what has happened with much of what was written by earlier writers on the subjects dealt with in the present article. Many theories and hypotheses advanced by Krom, Schrieke, Muusses, Berg, Teeuw/Robson and Crucq have had to be discarded simply on the basis of new evidence which was not at their disposal, although there are also several cases of earlier conclusions having to be rejected in the light of evidence that was already available at the time they were formulated. So most of what was written about Majapahit in the 15th century by Schrieke, for example, must be considered as being completely superseded by the conclusions of the present paper, if these are correct. The same applies to those of Berg's theories and conclusions which are explicitly mentioned here. Although I believe they are representative, I am aware that they are only an incomplete selection from Berg's writings about the 15th century, as they form part of his much wider theories as expounded in his most recent major works. His fivefold Buddha theory, which is intended to apply to the whole of Javanese history (Berg 1962), and his theory of the Lalitavistara being the basic example used by Prapañca when composing his *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Berg 1969) have never yet been seriously examined. This has not been done in the present article, either. It still remains to be seen, therefore, whether and to what extent these wider theories are affected by the criticism directed against their smaller and perhaps insignificant elements here. An answer to this question can only be obtained if these broader theories are investigated as such and in their entirety. There is not much sense, in my view, in discussing for this purpose the general principles advanced by Berg, such as the one according to which ancient texts like the Old Javanese ones should be interpreted in terms of the culture to which they belonged. For no one will seriously deny the

truth of such principles, and at most one may hold different views on their applicability in practice. From my own experience I am convinced that the only way of assessing the validity of Berg's theories is by checking the basic, factual details of the arguments they are founded on, that is, by doing the philological spade-work which, according to one of Berg's own principles, is the indispensable precondition for the usefulness of textual material to the historian. We have repeatedly come across hypotheses of Berg's which, when checked, have turned out to be based on inadequate or weak arguments, or no arguments at all. The implication is that these grand theories, no matter how stimulating and provoking, remain unacceptable until every detail, especially of their basic arguments, has been checked and tested as to its validity in this way.

I would like to give one final example to illustrate this. Though it concerns only a small detail of the Buṭak charter of 1294, it is given a wider application by Berg himself (1969: 27), as he presents his opinion on the matter as an argument to demonstrate that Old Javanese charters in general should be considered first and foremost as religious texts relating to the kingship cult, rather than as legal documents, as they are according to the usual view. Here the person whom this charter mentions as the recipient of a grant by the king is called *rame kudadu*, which in Berg's view should be interpreted as *rama Ikudadu*, 'Daddy Red-Rump', that is, the monkey Sugrīwa, the companion of Rama in the Ramāyana story, instead of *rama i Kudadu*, 'the village head of Kudadu'. Apart from the questions of whether this is an acceptable translation (the Javanese word *iku* does not mean 'posterior' but 'tail'), whether the monkey Sugrīwa is represented as a red-rumped 'sacred baboon' anywhere else, or whether Old Javanese charters are anything other than legal documents, the matter at issue is conclusively decided by the text of the inscription itself. For it also contains the phrase *wanwe kudadu*, meaning 'the village of Kudadu', in which there is an *i* as connecting preposition, as in the phrase *wanwe kḍung plut*, 'the village of Kḍung Plut', which also occurs in this same inscription (Brandes 1920: 95). This is not, therefore, acceptable as an argument for denying the character of charters as legal documents. There may of course be other arguments which do support Berg's theories in their essential details. But that is a matter for continued research.

NOTES

- ¹ In Stutterheim's announcement of the discovery the date is incorrectly stated as Śaka 1368 (1938a: 117). This is most probably an error, since a few pages further on (1938a: 127) the correct date is mentioned. The full date according to the Julian calendar was computed by Damais (1953: 85), who also introduced the name Waringin Pitu charter because of its principal concern with the royal religious domain (*rājadharma*) of Waringin Pitu (Yamin 1962: 10; Noorduyn 1968b: 543), the present-day village of Wringin Pitu, located on the southern bank of the Surabaya River, a few miles upstream of Krian. The inscription is also known as the inscription of Surodakan, which latter is the name of the village where the copperplates were found, to the south of Mt. Wilis in the regency of Trenggalek.
- Schrieke, misled by the error in Stutterheim's announcement, supposed that the charter was dated 1446, and tried to explain why King Kṛtawijaya should have issued it in that year while his predecessor, Queen Suhitā, according to the Pararaton (31: 35-32: 1) died in 1447. Towards this end he assumed that Suhitā died in 1446, but was deified in 1447 (Schrieke 1957: 54). This assumption is superfluous, however, as actually the date of the charter is not at variance with the relevant Pararaton data at all: Kṛtawijaya must, in fact, have issued it in the year of the death of his sister and predecessor, Queen Suhitā, shortly after he himself had succeeded her as king. Berg (1962: 74), while accepting the correct date of the charter on the authority of Damais, nevertheless also assumed, following Schrieke, and in contradiction with the Pararaton, that Suhitā died in 1446, because, according to him, "it was a Javanese custom to date the next event in the next year, and Suhitā's death consequently should have to be placed in 1446 at the latest". In the case of Suhitā's death, however, it seems preferable to take the agreement between the data from the charter and from the Pararaton as evidence against the existence of such a hypothetical custom.
- ² Yamin's edition has been printed three times: once as a monograph on the occasion of the Second National Science Congress (October 1962), once in the report of this congress (Vol. VI, 1965, pp. 399-428), and once again in his four-volume book *Tatanegara Madjapahit* (Vol. II, pp. 181-212). In the latter Yamin acknowledges that he is indebted for the text as published here to Dr. J. G. de Casparis, who had made the transliteration. This edition, which was published after Yamin's untimely death on October 17, 1962, is quite useful, even though there are several misprints in the text of the inscription, while Yamin's Indonesian translation is not free from error and his comments are rather superficial. A re-edition and -translation, preferably in a more widely accessible medium, would not be superfluous.
- ³ The royal consecration name of the Princess of Pajang is not mentioned in the inscription, probably because of an oversight of the scribe.
- ⁴ The similarity between the two lists actually does not extend, as Berg points out, beyond the fact that both contain the names of fifteen persons, nine of whom are female. Berg's hypothesis that because of this slight similarity in content the relationships between the persons of the Waringin Pitu list of 1447 must also correspond to those between the persons of the Nāgarakṛtāgama list of 1365 leads him to conclusions (1962: 81-82) which not only are incorrect, as has been shown above (see also p. 219 below), but also are inconsistent with the hypothesis itself, as a careful examination of Berg 1962: 62-85 will reveal. In these pages Berg tries to prove the theory that "The entire

period beginning in 1351 is characterized by a genealogy which is a 'copy' of the genealogy which characterizes the period beginning in 1254" (p. 62), or in other words, "that the posterity of Tribhuwanottunggadewi is the 'copy' of Jaya-Wisnuwardhana's posterity" (p. 72). His findings, however, show that this is simply not the case. Berg's theory of what he calls the "second Krtanagara genealogy" must therefore be considered a failure.

- ⁵ And not his elder brother, mentioned in the same Pararaton passage, who was likewise Bhre Tumapël, but who had died in 1427 (Par. 31: 24). On him also see pp. 222 and 236 below.
- ⁶ Schrieke's main reason for identifying the Princess of Daha of the Waringin Pitu charter as Kṛtawijaya's daughter seems to be provided by his acceptance of Brandes' hypothesis that Kṛtawijaya's wife died between 1413 and 1416 (Schrieke 1957: 35, 54). Now that this hypothesis has proved wrong, the question remains as to who the Bhre Daha who died between those years was. Recently an answer to this question has been provided which fits in very well with the conclusions arrived at so far. In Noorduyun 1975 it has been argued that Hayam Wuruk's cousin Rājasaduhitendudewi succeeded her mother as Princess of Daha and was the Bhre Daha who died between 1413 and 1416.
- ⁷ As Berg rightly remarks (1962: 231), the relation between this Pararaton chronogram and its incorrect date-in-figures provides clear evidence that, at least in this case, the date was based on the chronogram, and not the other way round, as was supposed by Brandes. The latter was of the opinion that the chronograms in the Pararaton were probably added to the dates later on, when errors had already crept into some of these (Brandes 1920: 342).

Javanese chronograms may originally have constituted a mnemonic device, and may in the course of time have developed the characteristics of enigmas, occurring either in the form of a separate sentence by itself, or as part of a larger text, the chronogram being a veiled representation of the date, and the date itself the 'answer' to the 'riddle'. In either case it is reasonable to assume that either originally or as a rule the chronogram, as Berg argues, was not accompanied by its date-in-figures. This does not alter the fact that any chronogram is basically and intrinsically secondary to the date it represents.

For an understanding of the nature of the Pararaton chronograms and their contexts a study of the chronograms in stone inscriptions in the Sukuh temple complex on the western slopes of Mt. Lawu is useful. As the Sukuh chronograms are dated from Śaka 1359 to 1381, i.e., A.D. 1437 to 1459, they belong to a period in Majapahit's history which is close in time to the latter part of the Pararaton text.

It is interesting to note that in some cases a three-stage representation of the date can be recognized, with (part of) the chronogram in its turn being pictorially represented. In its most elaborate form this kind of threefold representation is found in the inscription of Śaka 1379 (A.D. 1457), which contains a statement concerning an anchoress from Kayangan, followed by the chronogram (*sakakalanya*): *goh wiku hanahut butut* (i.e., 'cow monk biting tail'), followed in turn by the date 1379, and which occurs on the back of a statue of a cow with a monk's headdress which is biting the end of its own tail (Brandes 1904: 12, plate 7; Muusses 1923: 509-510).

As the plate clearly shows, this threefold representation of the date without any doubt forms a coherent unit, all the parts of which were conceived and executed in close interrelation with each other. Therefore the riddle element is plainly absent in this dated statement. Here the triple form of the repre-

sentation clearly has the intended effect of reinforcement through repetition. Similar effects are to be discerned in several other of the Sukuḥ chronograms, most of which are accompanied by a date-in-figures.

The following table sets out the relevant data concerning all the dates and chronograms which have been found in the Sukuḥ complex. It is based on the excellent articles on the Sukuḥ inscriptions by Miss Muusses (1923, 1924), supplemented by Crucq 1930: 264-266, and Stutterheim 1935, and mentions the items in the same order as these articles.

<i>Śaka date</i>	<i>inscription</i>	<i>pictorial representation</i>	<i>key word(s) in chronogram</i>
1. —	chronogram of 1359	on gate: demon devouring man	<i>gopura buta mangan wong</i> (gate demon eating man)
2. 1364	chronogram of 1364	statue of Garuḍa	—
3. 1363	statement ending in chronogram of 1363(?)	statue of Garuḍa with monk's headdress	<i>babajang</i> (young brahmin)
4. 1365	chronogram of 1365	statue of Bima	<i>Bima</i>
5. 1363	—	—	—
6. 1361	statement	relief depicting Bima stabbing demon Kalantaka	—
7. 1338	—	—	—
8. —	chronogram of 1359(?)	— (?)	—
9. 1361	—	statue of pig	—
10. 1362	chronogram of 1362 and statement	statue of lingga	<i>purusa</i> and <i>laksanapurusa</i> (penis)
11. 1379	statement ending in chronogram of 1379	statue of cow with monk's headdress biting its tail	<i>goh wiku hanahut butut</i> (cow monk biting tail)
12. 1381	chronogram of 1381	—	—
13. —	chronogram of 1381	relief	—

Another chronogram from the 15th century has been found on the wall of the stairs leading to the 8th terrace of the Cēṭa complex, which, like the Sukuḥ complex, lies on the western slopes of Mt. Lawu. It is accompanied by a date-in-figures, but not by a pictorial representation. The inscription commemorates the building of a fence and ends with the date (*sakakalanya*): *wiku goh anahut iku 1397*, i.e., 'monk cow biting tail (numerical value 1397) A.D. 1475' (Stutterheim 1930).

A chronogram with a pictorial representation but without a date-in-figures, which is found on a piece of stone originating from Grobogan, has been deciphered by Crucq (1930: 275; 1936: 399). The picture represents a cow wearing a headdress and biting the sun. The inscription ends with the words *goh wiku tēḍa sayanginge*, i.e., 'cow monk eating sun', or 'a cow as an ascetic biting the sun', which represents the date Śaka 1379, i.e., A.D. 1457.

A very similar example of a chronogram with a pictorial representation but without a date-in-figures is provided by the first item of the above table. This chronogram, reading *gopura buta mangan wong*, i.e., 'gate demon devouring

man', which yields the date Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437), is inscribed on the left wing of the gate of the Sukuh complex, underneath a relief showing a *demon devouring a man* (Muusses 1924: 34).

The interpretation of a date which is represented in pictorial form only may be more problematic. An example of this is furnished by the relief of a man biting the tail of a snake which is found on the right wing of the same gate of the Sukuh complex. According to Crucq (1930: 265) this may mean either 'gate demon biting tail', i.e., Śaka 1359 (A.D. 1437), in other words, the same date as on the left wing of this gate, or 'snake demon biting tail', i.e., Śaka 1358 (A.D. 1436). In other cases dates in pictorial form only can be established with more certainty. A stone medallion depicting in relief an elephant with a demon's head biting a star, discovered on Mt. Penanggungan, clearly represents the date Śaka 1358 = A.D. 1436. Another, representing a snake with a monk's headdress and with its tail in its mouth, clearly stands for Śaka 1378 = A.D. 1456 (Stutterheim 1938b: 28; Van Romondt 1951: 30, 32).

In all these cases in which a date-in-figures is not added, the riddle element is clearly present. However, as is obvious from the examples given so far, there was no uniform practice in this respect in the 15th century. There are cases in which either the date-in-figures, or a chronogram, or its pictorial representation was presented by itself. In other cases the chronogram was combined with a date-in-figures or with a pictorial representation. In yet other cases again the three stages of representation are found together. At Sukuh six of the nine chronograms found there are accompanied by their date-in-figures, while four of these are in threefold form.

- ⁸ The new information about the true identity of the Bhre Daha of 1437, and her first appearance as such already in 1429, also deprives Crucq's theory of 1936 concerning the role of this Bhre Daha of its basis, since it was founded on the fact that the oldest date found at the Sukuh complex is equivalent to A.D. 1437. The identity of the two dates, which provided Crucq's starting-point, has proved to be non-existent.

It is true that the Sukuh temple complex, in view of the majority of the dates which have been found there, was occupied and in use in the middle of the 15th century. But no direct link can be established with the centre of Majapahit. The conquest of Rajégwësi by Mëḍang, mentioned in the Sukuh inscription of Śaka 1363 = A.D. 1441 (No. 3 in the table of note 7), was most probably a local affair. Rajégwësi most likely was not the centre of Majapahit, as Crucq assumed (1936: 337), but a small district near present-day Bojanegara (Krom 1931: 447; NoorduyN 1968a: 447-478). Mëḍang most probably was the likewise small district of Mëḍang Kamulan in present-day Grobogan, not far to the west of Bojanegara. This does mean, however, that in this period it was possible for two rather small districts within the state of Majapahit to be at war with each other.

- ⁹ It seems impossible, however, that Jayeśwari had already been born in 1367. As Schrieke (1957: 28) has convincingly demonstrated, her mother, Rājasawardhani, whose third child she was, was born around 1355 at the earliest. Rājasawardhani's eldest child in that case could definitely not have been born before 1372, or her third child, Jayeśwari, before 1375. In 1464, then, the latter was 89 at the most. On the other hand, her elder brother, Ratnapangkaja, according to Par. 31: 6-10 played a role in the *parëgrëg* war of 1405-1406, and hence cannot have been younger than about 20 in 1405, so that he was born no later than about 1385. If, in that case, Jayeśwari, Ratnapangkaja's youngest sister, was born in 1386, she was 78 years old in 1464. These

calculations show that Jayeśwari was probably around 80 years old when she died in 1464. It follows from the above, then, that if the Bungur charter was issued in 1367 — which, according to Damais' calculations (1953: 200-203), is the only date tallying with the calendrical data supplied in the inscription, whereas these are inconsistent with 1373, the date actually stated in it — Jayeśwari's mother was no older than 12 at the time this charter mentions her as being married. Most probably this was a pre-arranged child marriage, like the marriage between her brother Wikramawardhana and Hayam Wuruk's daughter Kusumawardhanī mentioned in the Nāgarakṛtāgama (Nāg. 7-4-3/4) of 1365, when they were no older than 12 and 7 years respectively (Schrieke 1957: 28). The comparison seems justified, even though the latter marriage is referred to with a verb in the future tense (Pigeaud 1960-1963 II: 17).

- 10 I am indebted to Prof. J. Ensink for pointing out (in a personal communication) the special meaning of St. *smaraṇa* or *smṛti* as 'meditation on a deity', cf. *Jinasmṛti* in the Sutasoma *kakawin*.
- 11 The fact that in the Waringin Pitu charter the queen has fewer laudatory verses devoted to her than the king is of some importance for the interpretation of a comparable case in the Nāgarakṛtāgama. For this fact is in clear contradiction with Pigeaud's supposition regarding King Hayam Wuruk's consort, viz. "If she really had been Queen no doubt she would have been given the same number of lines with praise and epithets as the King himself" (Pigeaud 1960-1963 IV: 9). At the same time Pigeaud's argumentation, unlike Berg's (1969: 243), is essentially correct, since it is remarkable indeed that King Hayam Wuruk's consort should receive even fewer lines than his sisters and their husbands (Nāg. 5-1 and 2; 6-1 and 2), who all have four lines devoted to them, just like his aunt and uncle (Nāg. 4-1 and 2), as opposed to his consort, who is given only two (Nāg. 7-3-3/4), like his daughter (Nāg. 7-4-1/2) and his sister's children (Nāg. 6-3; 6-4-1/2). This fact, which Berg ignores, is in conflict with his theory that the king's wife is considered of equal rank with his sisters. The number of lines devoted to each person in this part of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, as Krom already remarked, is definitely meant by the poet to accord with that person's rank. The king is given ten lines (Nāg. 7), and his grandmother, mother and father five each (Nāg. 2 and 3).
- 12 Berg (1962: 180) expresses doubts as to whether Paṇḍan-Salas, which means 'a field (or forest) full of pandanus', was originally used in titles since it is a name for the realm of the dead. It is true that this name is not known from any contemporary charter, and is also unknown as a toponym, although it does occur as the name of a Javanese kingdom in some Pañji stories (Poerbatjaraka 1940: 24), which latter, however, do no claim to be realistic as far as toponymy is concerned. But in the sources Berg refers to (1954: 206, 216; 1962: 289) it is not Paṇḍan-Salas, but the near-synonymous Puḍak-Satēgal ('a field full of pandanus flowers') which occurs as the name of a place in the realm of the dead, not of the realm of the dead as a whole. Moreover, even if it was once used as a name for the realm of the dead, it still is not certain that this particular usage had already come about by the 14th and 15th centuries, and that it was not preceded by the use of this name in a — definitely minor — princely title. The latter would not necessarily imply that it was also the name of a definite administrative unit. A comparable situation is found in South Celebes, where the title Karaeng Balla'-Bugisika, 'Princess of the Buginese House', of a particular Macassarese princess was never a territorial name, like most other Karaeng titles.

- 13 The spelling of the first part of the name Suraprabhāwa in the Waringin Pitu inscription is confirmed by the way in which it occurs in the Śiwarātrikalpa *kakawin* (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 68), where its first vowel is metrically short. The name hence incorporates the word *sura*, 'god', and not *śūra*, 'hero', and means 'divine power'. It is largely, though not completely, synonymous with the name Sūryawikrama (No. 8 of the list), which means 'valour of the sun(-god)'. Cf. Berg 1962: 232.
- 14 Since Suraprabhāwa's title of Paṇḍan-Salas does not occur in the Waringin Pitu charter, in which he is mentioned as Prince of Tumapël, he apparently did not bear these titles simultaneously but successively. Therefore the verb *añjĕnĕng*, 'to rule', must have an inchoative sense in the Pararaton clause in question, as it does in similar cases in which this follows from the context, since any Javanese verb may be used inchoatively without a formal element to make this explicit.
- 15 This 19-year interval provides clear evidence against Berg's contention (1969: 14) that *tumuli* (= *anuli*) always means 'immediately afterwards'.
- 16 *Dyah* Suraprabhāwa is responsible for an important addition to our knowledge of the culture of 15th-century Java as a result of the recent discovery that the poet Tanakung, author of several well-known Old Javanese *kakawins*, lived and worked in this century. His royal patron, whom he mentioned by name in the first canto of his Śiwarātrikalpa *kakawin* as Śrī Ādi-Suraprabhāwa (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 67), was recognized by Zoetmulder (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 65) as the ruling king (*prabhu*) who issued the Pamintihan charter of 1473. Zoetmulder is not expressing himself quite correctly, however, when he says, speaking of the date of the Śiwarātrikalpa: "It is not certain whether Tanakung wrote his poem when *dyah* Suraprabhāwa had already assumed the consecration name Śrī Singhawikramawardhana. He may well have done so before that time, as we know that it was by no means always the ruling sovereign who was the patron of the authors of *kakawin*". This is less correct because it is clear from the Waringin Pitu charter that Suraprabhāwa already bore his consecration name in 1447, long before he became *prabhu* in 1466. On the other hand, Zoetmulder is quite right in questioning in the same passage whether Suraprabhāwa was already ruling sovereign when Tanakung wrote his poem. *Dyah* Raṇamanggala, the son of a half-brother of King Hayam Wuruk, who was the royal patron of the poet Tantular, is a good example of such a non-ruling prince acting as protector of poets. So it remains uncertain until further evidence is forthcoming whether the earliest date of the Śiwarātrikalpa is 1466, as Teeuw/Robson (1969: 18) assert, and ought not to be put back to at least 1447. On the basis of the available data, it is impossible to be more precise than saying that Tanakung wrote his work in or around the third quarter of the 15th century (cf. Zoetmulder 1974: 365).
- 17 Berg (1962: 229) has expressed doubts as to whether changes of titles of royal princes actually ever occurred in Majapahit, or at least, whether concrete examples of such changes can be pointed out. He prefers to explain cases of one person bearing different titles in different texts as the result of mistakes on the part of the author of the later text (Berg 1962: 67), or as representing synonymous forms of the same title (Berg 1954: 204; 1962: 229). Clearly the above interpretation of the Pararaton sentences about Suraprabhāwa and Rājasawardhana, if accepted as correct, yields a number of such concrete examples of changes of titles, and hence does not support Berg's doubts. They contain information about actual changes of titles rather than hypothetical ones assumed in order to explain differences in titles in texts

from different periods. They can therefore be taken as corroboration of such hypothetical ones as assumed by Van Stein Callenfels (1919: 342-343), Schrieke (1957: 29), and recently, Noorduyn (1975: 483-484), including the Matahun/Wēngkēr case, even if in the latter the names are etymologically synonymous (as 'yearly' = 'a year round' and 'circle'). Whatever their origin and meaning, these latter names had a different geographical background. Wēngkēr was situated to the south of Madiun (there is no justification for Berg's assumption (1954: 214) that this location, as mentioned in the 19th-century Cēntini text, coincides with that of the 11th-century Wēngkēr, but not with that of the 14th-century Wēngkēr). The situation of Matahun, contrary to my earlier assertion (Noorduyn 1968a: 480), is not unknown. Stutterheim (1948: 98) identified it with the village of Tawun, a few miles east of Ngawi, to the north of Madiun, and not far south of Jipang, with which Matahun has sometimes erroneously been identified (Schrieke 1957: 154, 334).

- 18 Ras erroneously states, referring to Schrieke 1957, that "the consort of king Hayam Wuruk's mother, Kṛtawardhana, who died in 1386" (cf. Schrieke 1957: 26), was styled "ruler of Keling-Kahuripan". Ras here confuses Kṛtawardhana with Rājasawardhana, who died in 1453 (cf. Schrieke 1957: 31). There are also no data to support Ras' remark that "in the Majapahit period this country of Keling was normally united with Kahuripan", or the latter part of Schrieke's observation, to which Ras is referring, that the region of Kahuripan (Janggala) "probably also embraced the residency Surabaya along with northern Kaḍiri (Kēling)" (Schrieke 1957: 25-26). Kēling most probably was a small region in the north-eastern (not north-western, Krom 1931: 448) part of the present-day regency of Kēḍiri, where a village bearing the name Kling is still found a few miles east of Pare, not far from a small river which on 19th-century maps is designated Kali Kēling (Krom 1931: 448), being a left-hand tributary of the Kali Konto, itself a tributary of the River Brantas. The name of this River Kēling, which is misplaced completely on the archaeological map in Krom 1931, does not constitute a strong argument, however. It was probably taken from the nearby village of Kling, since on later maps the river bears different names. As this region of Kēling bordered on Kahuripan as well as on Kēḍiri, it is not improbable that it did at one time belong, or was considered as belonging, to Kahuripan. This would then be the reason why its name occurs as an alternative name for Koripan or Janggala in some Javanese Pañji works (Poerbatjaraka 1940: 100, 158, 260).
- 19 As Krom pointed out (1931: 444), this King Wikramawardhana in the second half of his reign sent two embassies to China, one in 1415 and one in 1418, while the Chinese Ming History records that the Javanese king in 1415 informed the court that he had adopted the name Yang-wei-hsi-sha, i.e. Hyang Wiśeṣa. This does not mean that, as Krom asserts (1931: 430), he adopted this name no earlier than 1415, since it is already known from the charter of Patapan of 1385 (Pigeaud 1960-1963 III: 172; IV: 447).
- 20 This king sent embassies to China in 1460 and 1465 (Krom 1931: 448). In the Chinese records he is referred to as King Tumapan, which is the usual Chinese designation for Tumapēl. The use of this name does not imply that he was King of Tumapēl only, because King Wikramawardhana of Majapahit was also called King Tumapan by the Chinese on the occasion when he sent an embassy to China in 1403 (Krom 1931: 431-432). The Chinese apparently continued to use the name Tumapēl for the East Javanese kingdom from the time it was known as Singasari (the alternative name for Tumapēl) until long after the *kraton* was established in Majapahit in 1293.

- ²¹ A clear example of this is furnished by the Balawi inscription of A.D. 1305, published by Poerbatjaraka (1936: 373-383). A similar phenomenon is to be observed in Old Javanese prose works on Hindu epic themes and theological subjects, in which there occasionally occur Sanskrit quotations followed by their translation in Old Javanese (cf. Goris 1926: 69-74).
- ²² I am indebted to Prof. Haryati Soebadio for suggesting this emendation, which involves no more than the removal of one small vowel symbol, and is therefore palaeographically far more attractive than the other possible emendation, namely *antima*, 'last', instead of *antika*, which involves the change of a full consonant symbol *ka* into the very dissimilar *ma*. The word *antaka*, "end-making", consists of *anta*, 'end', and the suffix *ka*, which has "adjective-making value" (Whitney 1896³: § 1222c, where this same word is mentioned as an example). Other examples of this use of the *ka* suffix are to be found in Soebadio 1971: 138, 142 (*nirātmaka*, *sapta-bhedaka*, *śvetavarnaka*).
- If the Old Javanese clause is indeed no more than a translation of the Sanskrit compound, this may be the real reason for the unusual order of the Javanese words *ṣamungsu putra*, in which apparently the Sanskrit word order of *antaka ātmaja* is slavishly copied, as is often the case in translation work.
- ²³ Miss Muusses was unable to reach this conclusion in her important article of 1929, since the relevant data from the Waringin Pitu charter were not yet available at that time. It is worth noting, however, that she already pointed the way which has been trodden above, and drew two preliminary conclusions which were within her reach, viz. that other members of the royal family besides the king must have been mentioned on the preceding plates of the Trawulan III inscription, and that one of these, the husband of the Princess of Kaban, must have been the elder brother of Suraprabhāwa (Muusses 1929: 211-212). Miss Muusses furthermore corrected the editor's reading of the date of the Pamintihan inscription (1929: 208; which was overlooked by Slametmuljana 1976: 89, 155), which enabled her to identify Suraprabhāwa with Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas of the Pararaton (1929: 209). She also made some errors, such as further identifying Suraprabhāwa with Bhre Kērtabhumi, the youngest son of *sang* Sinagara (1929: 210), and with the *Bhaṭṭara* of Daha mentioned in the Trailokyapuri III inscription of 1486 (1929: 213). Both these latter conclusions were mentioned by Krom as possibilities (1931: 449, 450; and also already in the first edition 1926: 447, 448, referring to an unpublished article by Dr. Muusses). Miss Muusses concluded, however, by expressing the hope that another inscription might be found which would make it possible to either confirm or correct her conclusions (1929: 214), thus anticipating in a way the discovery of the Waringin Pitu charter.
- ²⁴ This 12-syllable Sanskrit compound, consisting of words which have clearly been specially selected to make up together one line of Drutavilambita metre, represents another example of the dynastic name of the royal house of Majapahit, besides two known from other sources, which, though made up of quite different words, have exactly the same meaning, viz. 'mountain-lord descendant'. King Suraprabhāwa was styled *Giri-pati-prasūta*... in his Pamintihan charter of 1473, and *Giri-indra-waṁśa-ja* in the first canto of the Siwarātrikalpa *kakawin* by Tanakung (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 65, 68). These three designations identify both King Suraprabhāwa and Prince Rājasawardhana as 'scions of the line of the Lord of the Mountain'.

It would be an error to assume that this was the name of a Girindra-wardhana dynasty — supposing there was such a dynasty "at the end of the

Majapahit period" (*quod non*, see pp. 248-253 below) — as has been proposed by Zoetmulder (Teeuw *et al.* 1969: 64) as a possibility, and by Teeuw/Robson (1969: 322) as a certainty, witness their reference to Krom 1931: 451. For Krom asserted the Girindrawardhana kings to represent a new dynasty precisely because, in his view, they belonged to a different house from preceding kings such as Suraprabhāwa and Rājasawardhana.

Ultimately they were the descendants of King Rājasa, the founder of this dynasty, who in the Nāgarakṛtāgama is designated by precisely the same dynastic name: *Giri-nātha-putra* (37-2-3), *Giri-indra-ātmaja* (40-2-3), *Giri-indra-ātmasūnu* (40-5-1), and *Adri-indra-tanaya* (44-3-1). It is likely, therefore, that in the above case of Prince Rājasawardhana, too, we have the old dynastic name of the royal family of (Singasari and) Majapahit.

Recently Supomo in his extremely important article about the Lord of the Mountains (1972) convincingly demonstrated that this term was neither a reminiscence of the 9th-century Śailendra dynasty, as Berg assumed, nor a designation of the god Shiva, as had been generally supposed up till then, but denoted the national god of the Javanese kingdom, who was revered especially in the State sanctuary, Palah, the present-day *caṇḍi* Panataran at the foot of Mt. Kēlut (Supomo 1972: 292-294).

- ²⁵ Since Jayeśwari's father, Raṇamanggala, according to the Pararaton (29: 36, 30: 5) possessed the title Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas, clearly her son Suraprabhāwa received this same title because he was Raṇamanggala's grandson. However, Suraprabhāwa did not succeed his grandfather, who died in 1400 (Par. 31: 1), directly, as the Pararaton (31: 31) also states that a certain Raden Jagulu Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas, whom it has not mentioned before, died between 1429 and 1433. Presumably this was another son of Raṇamanggala, and it was this Raden Jagulu who around 1432 was succeeded by Suraprabhāwa as Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas.

In a similar way Raṇamanggala's eldest son, Ratnapangkaja, received his much higher title of Bhre Kahuripan (Par. 30: 5) through his mother, who was King Wikramawardhana's youngest sister, Surawardhanī (Nāg. 6-4-2) or Rājasawardhanī (Brandes 1920: 163) Bhre Kahuripan (Par. 29: 23, 26). Presumably Ratnapangkaja received this high title also because of his marriage to King Wikramawardhana's daughter Suhitā, his father Raṇamanggala being only a distant relative of the royal family (Par. 29: 24-25). Likewise Jayeśwari received the high title of Bhre Daha because of her marriage to King Wikramawardhana's son Kṛtawijaya, and her elder sister the title of Bhre Lasēm because of her marriage to the king's second son Bhre Tumapēl (Par. 30: 7), possibly in this respect succeeding her mother-in-law, Wikramawardhana's wife, who was Bhre Lasēm the Fair (Par. 29: 21-22) and died in 1400 (Par. 30: 36).

It is most remarkable that there should have been two princesses of Lasēm at the same time: Bhre Lasēm the Fair, Wikramawardhana's consort, and Bhre Lasēm the Fat, the consort of Bhre Wirabhūmi. They are distinguished in the Pararaton by their cognomen. As this seems so very unusual, it perhaps reveals something of the reasons for the conflict, leading to the civil war of 1405-1406, between King Wikramawardhana and Bhre Wirabhūmi. For, although we know something about the general background of this conflict (cf. Noorduyt 1975), there is no information on the specific factors responsible for the dissensions, which in the Pararaton are denoted with a word *abēlah*, meaning 'rebellion' (Par. 31: 4).

The duplication of the Lasēm title seems to have continued in the next generation. After the death of both Bhre Lasēm the Fair and Bhre Lasēm

the Fat in 1400 (Par. 30: 36, 37), there were again two princesses of Lasēm: the eldest daughter of Raṇamanggala and the second daughter of Bhre Wirabhūmi (Par. 30: 7, 11). According to the Pararaton (30: 7, 11) both Bhre Lasēms were married to Bhre Tumapël, the elder son of Wikramawardhana (d. 1427).

It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that this Bhre Tumapël should have married the daughter of Bhre Wirabhūmi either before or during the conflict between Bhre Tumapël's father, Wikramawardhana, and Bhre Wirabhūmi, if the duplication of the Lasēm title provided one of the reasons of this conflict. This argument is lent still greater force by the information in the Pararaton that Wikramawardhana himself married Bhre Wirabhūmi's eldest daughter, Bhre Mataram, and his grandson Bhre Wēngkēr married Bhre Wirabhūmi's third daughter, Bhre Matahun (Par. 30: 10, 12-13). It seems inconsistent with the conflict between King Wikramawardhana and Bhre Wirabhūmi that these three marriages, as Krom assumed (1931: 431), should have antedated this conflict. It is far more probable that they were concluded at the same time *after* the defeat and death of Bhre Wirabhūmi in 1406. His mother, Bhre Daha, was taken captive and brought to the Majapahit *kraton* by King Wikramawardhana. For his three daughters it was likewise impossible to remain in the ruined eastern *kraton*, so that it may be assumed that they were married by the king, his elder son and the latter's eldest son as a kind of gesture of final reconciliation between the two families, and at the same time for the purpose of taking care — in more than one sense — of the rebel's offspring.

If this is, in fact, what happened, the reason why King Wikramawardhana's elder son Bhre Tumapël and his son-in-law Ratnapangkaja initially hesitated to take Wikramawardhana's side in his war with Bhre Wirabhūmi (Par. 31: 5-6) cannot have been Bhre Tumapël's marriage to a daughter of Bhre Wirabhūmi, as Krom (1931: 431) assumes, but may have been that they did not quite agree with Wikramawardhana's reasons for taking issue with Bhre Wirabhūmi. Only when Wikramawardhana was in danger of being defeated did they take his side to prevent his defeat (Par. 31: 9-10).

It is furthermore impossible that Wikramawardhana's daughter Suhitā was the daughter of Bhre Wirabhūmi's daughter Bhre Mataram, as Krom assumes (1931: 446), because Suhitā had been born before Bhre Mataram became Wikramawardhana's wife. She most probably was the child of Wikramawardhana's first wife, Bhre Lasēm the Fair, King Hayam Wuruk's only daughter, just like her elder brother Bhre Tumapël, her younger brother Kṛtawijaya, and her eldest brother Hyang Wēkas-ing-Suka II.

Although the Pararaton informs us in so many words that Hyang Wēkas-ing-Suka II was the son of Wikramawardhana and Bhre Lasēm the Fair (Par. 29: 20-22), it mentions his younger brothers and sister further on only as children of Wikramawardhana, without reference to their mother (Par. 30: 3-5). There are several circumstances, however, which make it likely that the latter, too, were children by his first wife, and therefore just as much of royal birth as their eldest brother. Usually, if a prince or princess was born of a secondary wife, the Pararaton says so quite explicitly by using a term like *rabi haji* (Par. 29: 18), *rabi anom* (Par. 30: 13), or *rabi kṣatriya* (Par. 30: 17-18). Moreover, Wikramawardhana's three younger children are mentioned five lines prior to the reference to Wikramawardhana's marriage to Bhre Mataram. As a result, the mention of Wikramawardhana's eldest son in a different place from his younger children presumably is not to be explained by assuming that the latter had a different mother, and therefore were of

lower birth, let alone that Suhitā was born of Bhre Mataram, but was nevertheless of higher birth than her younger brother Krtawijaya, as Krom assumes. The reason why Suhitā took precedence over her younger brother Krtawijaya in the succession of their father as *prabhu* in 1429 should not be sought in a difference of birth, but simply in the apparent fact that an elder sibling had priority of succession over a younger sibling, regardless of their sex.

Finally, the fact that Raden Gajah, the man who killed Bhre Wirabhūmi in 1406 (Par. 31: 12), was put to death for this in 1433, after Suhitā had become queen (Par. 31: 32-33), should not be explained, as by Krom (1931: 446), with the assumption that Bhre Wirabhūmi was Suhitā's grandfather, but with some other reason, e.g., that he had been wanted for his act of lese majesty but had not been found prior to 1433.

The above exposition in my view offers a sufficient explanation for why in 1429 Wikramawardhana was succeeded by his daughter Suhitā, and not by her younger brother Krtawijaya nor by her husband Ratnapangkaja (cf. Krom 1931: 446).

- 26 I am indebted to Dr. J. J. Ras for confirming my translation of this passage as the correct one on the basis of his own study of the Pararaton language, and for putting forward this decisive argument proving that it is the only acceptable translation.
- 27 Zoetmulder's note (1974: 554 n. 21) according to which the Prince of Jiwana and the Prince of Kahuripan in this poem (lines 1 and 28 respectively) seem to be two different persons cannot be correct, precisely because "Jiwana is another name for Kahuripan". As the eldest son of the deceased king for whom the festival was held, this Prince of Jiwana/Kahuripan is mentioned twice: first as the person who arranged the festival, and then, following his younger brothers, as the most distinguished of the deceased king's sons in the series of those who presented gifts. Nor is he the sovereign king, as Zoetmulder asserts, since neither of these passages refers to him as *prabhu*. The person who *was prabhu* offered his gift *after* the Prince of Kahuripan.
- 28 It should be noted that the date of issue of the Trailokyapuri charters presents a problem. According to Damais' calculations (1953: 86), the charter of Pēṭak was issued on 11 June 1486. The Trailokyapuri charters were issued a few months later, all three on the same day, which, however, cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Damais (1952: 6), in fact, mentions the Trailokyapuri I and II charters as examples of original inscriptions for which he is unable to establish the Julian date in spite of the presence of all the necessary calendrical data for conversion. Unfortunately he has never published the study on this and other similarly problematic dates which he promised. The difficulty in the present case appears to be that the calculations on the basis of the date of the lunar month and those on the basis of the *wuku* elements produce two different results, showing a divergence of 6 days. The former date is given as *pratipadakṛṣṇa*, or 1 *kṛṣṇa*, (= the 16th), of the month of Kārtika (= October/November). As 1 Kārtika coincided with 27 October, 1486, the 16th was 11 November, 1486. The *wuku* elements given are WU U ŠU of Kulawan. As in 1486 the *wuku* cycle began on 7 May, WU U ŠU, being the 195th day of the cycle, fell on 17 November, 1486. This discrepancy seems insoluble without the assumption that there is an error in the statement of the calendrical elements. Since this error may in theory have crept into any of the elements, including the year, the date of

the Trailokyapuri inscriptions remains uncertain, also as a basis for historical research, as long as no satisfactory explanation is found.

- 29 There is nothing strange about the fact that these published texts are insufficiently reliable. The same is true of several other texts of charters in the collection in question. Many transcriptions were in an unfinished state at Brandes' untimely death, and Krom has rightly published them exactly as he found them. It is surprising, however, that at least in the present case they were not checked and corrected later, but were used as they stand by historians, among them Krom himself, on the apparent assumption that they were completely reliable.
- 30 This part of the research was carried out under the auspices of the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI) and the National Research Centre of Archaeology (P3N) in Jakarta. I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of these organizations, which enabled me to visit the relevant sites in East Java in August 1976, and especially the generous help given me by Dr. R. S. Soejono and his staff, in particular Drs. Machi Suhadi, in Jakarta and Mojokerto.
- 31 The same name of the *patih* of this time occurs also in the Trailokyapuri I inscription (second side, lines 9-10; unpublished). In the Pĕṭak inscription the name is found in an abbreviated form, Pu Wahān, and not Thahān (Krom 1913: 215; 1931: 451). It is this Wahan which, as Krom pointed out (1931: 462), has been preserved by later Javanese tradition as the name of a *patih* of Majapahit, though in a quite different context, namely the *patih* of King Hayam Wuruk's grandfather.
- 32 Berg (1962: 86; 1969: 651) translates this word *munggu* as 'enshrined', and assumes that the person concerned was Raṇamanggala, who in the Pararaton is called Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas, and who died in 1400 and was enshrined (*dhinarma*) in Jinggan (Par. 31:1). However, the assumption that the person who is mentioned in the Pĕṭak inscription of 1486 as the conqueror of Majapahit was a prince who died almost a century earlier is far from likely, let alone a certainty. The word *munggu* means 'to be (somewhere)', and I, for one, have found no example of its being used in the sense of 'enshrined'; on the contrary, deceased princes are usually indicated as such by a word like *mokta*, 'released', while in the Pararaton *dhinarma* is used for 'enshrined (in a special temple complex)'.
- 33 This has been generally assumed to be the correct reading of the sentence, although Brandes' transliteration in OJO 91 deviates from it on two points: he read *dun-* instead of *duk-*, and *lahaning* instead of *lawaning*. When I had an opportunity of studying the inscription from the original stone as well as from the newly made rubbing in August, 1976, I discovered that from a palaeographic point of view Brandes had good reason for adopting these readings, while there are also sufficient arguments for rejecting them. As was said earlier, the characters for *na* and *ka* are so similar in shape and overlapping to such an extent that one is compelled in practically each individual case to select the reading which most suits the context. In this particular case only *duk*, 'when', makes sense. Although the difference in the shape of the *wa* and *ha* is generally clear, it is based on such a tiny detail, viz. whether the middle, rising line curves to the right with or without a pointed turn to the left at the top first, that a slight irregularity is likely to cause confusion. In the present case the pointed turn is absent, but there is room for the possibility that it was effaced by wearing of the stone. Here *lawan* best fits the context.

The construction of the last part of the sentence is typically Javanese, and can be explained as follows: 'when (he was) standing facing each other (*ayun-ayunan*) with (*lawan ing*) Majapahit in war (*yuddha*)'. This undoubtedly means 'when he was warring against Majapahit'. Although *lawan ing Majapahit* by itself might also mean 'the opponent of Majapahit', this interpretation is excluded here, since the reciprocal verb *ayun-ayunan* demands the presence of a word like *lawan* in its sense of 'with'.

- ³⁴ This is Miss Muusses' reading (1929: 213), who thus corrected and supplemented Brandes' transliteration *ri... mrttāwithi... śalaya* (cf. Krom 1931: 451). At present this reading can be only partially checked against the stone, since a small portion of its surface, containing the end of lines 2 (between *ri* and *śalaya*) and 3, has disappeared. Presumably this part of the inscription was still extant when Miss Muusses studied it, and possibly its reading can still be checked against the old rubbing, if this has been preserved.

- ³⁵ The word *pura* is already found in the title as rendered by Miss Muusses (1929: 213). Her reading *pura Daha* is impossible, however, since the inscription does not contain more than two *aksaras* between *wilwatikta* and *janggala*.

Although the rubbings leave no doubt that *pura* is the right reading, it should be remarked that, as a result of several epigraphical errors, the stone also contains conflicting evidence. Most of the *aksaras* on the obverse side of the stone show marks of having been traced with black ink or paint, which presumably was done in order to improve the legibility of the inscription. But apparently Brandes' transliteration, including its erroneous readings, was followed when making these tracings, so that as a result the wrong reading *daha* shows up on the stone and in particular on any photograph of it. This is a clear example of the dangers of making tracings with ink or chalk as a method of facilitating the reading of inscriptions on stone. If the inscription is too indistinct to be read straight from the stone, a rubbing provides the only satisfactory solution.

- ³⁶ This is not in conflict with Pires' information that in his time (1513) the capital of the Hindu-Javanese state was called Daha (Noorduyn 1976: 469). Since Pires does not mention the name Majapahit at all, the capital may have been moved south from Majapahit to Daha some time between 1486 and 1513 in order to be at a safe distance from Muslim states on the north coast like Surabaya, which were expanding further and further southward and therefore coming dangerously close to the capital of Majapahit.
- ³⁷ In the course of the present study practically all the princes and princesses occurring with a *bhre* title in the last part of the Pararaton have, in fact, turned out to belong to the royal family by blood or by marriage. This clearly disproves the theory recently put forward by Deopik (1977), on the basis of the final part of the Pararaton, that there existed in the 15th century a class of great feudal lords, or *bhre*, who were unrelated to the *prabhu* and came to be increasingly in opposition to the *prabhu* and his traditional officials, finally destroying the *prabhu*'s despotic power, which was then taken over by one of the *bhre* of the central provinces (p. 40). The author's conclusions are for the greater part generalizations of what in the single source he has used are no more than isolated pieces of information, or even absence of information turned into positive facts. His article furthermore contains occasional errors of detail, such as his supposition that *bhreng* is the feminine form of *bhre* (whereas actually both are contractions of *bhra* plus the

(locative) preposition *i* or *ing*), an apparent result of his lack of familiarity with the Javanese language, his study being based on a Russian translation of Brandes' Dutch translation of the Pararaton (p. 25).

I am much indebted to Dr. H. Steinhauer for his oral translation of the article by Deopik.

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